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**The Making of Finland:
The Era of the Grand Duchy**

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Cover: Coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Finland, 1809–1917. Within the coat of arms of Imperial Russia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coat_of_arms_of_Russia#1721%E2%80%931917:_Russian_Empire), on the chest of the black double-headed Russian eagle, the lion of Finland: “[O]n a red field strewn with silver roses a crowned lion of gold, holding in the right forepaw an upright sword and in the left one a curved sword on which it rests with the right hindpaw” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coat_of_arms_of_Finland).

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“Let Us Be Finns”: The Era before Finland’s Independence

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Abstract

In this introduction to the *Journal of Finnish Studies* theme issue entitled *The Making of Finland: The Era of the Grand Duchy*, the editors outline, in broad strokes, the years when Finland was part of Russia. The second part of the chapter consists of a discussion of the eight chapters that make up this article collection. The contributors approach the topic of the Grand Duchy of Finland from multiple—and even surprising—perspectives, showing how, in addition to the important cultural events that contributed to Finland’s quest for independence, ordinary aspects of daily life, such as food culture, were also part of this path, as was hunger, poverty, and illness.

The Time of the Grand Duchy of Finland, 1809–1917

The year 2017 marked one hundred years of Finland’s independence. Now that Finland has entered into its second independent century, the *Journal of Finnish Studies* wishes to acknowledge the occasion with this theme issue, *The Making of Finland: The Era of the Grand Duchy*. In the year 1809, after centuries of shared history with Scandinavia, the governance of Finland was transferred from Sweden to Russia, immediately following the 1808–1809 “Finnish War”—a war between Sweden and Russia (as part of

1 The authors are listed in alphabetical order. All have contributed equally to the writing of this chapter.

the Napoleonic wars). During the reigns of five czars—Alexander I (1801–25), Nicholas I (1825–55), Alexander II (1855–81), Alexander III (1881–94), and Nicholas II (1894–1917)—Finland remained a part of Russia, though with a unique, autonomous governmental status. These 108 years under Russian rule were formative for Finland. During this time, Finland engaged in the practice of self-government while under the watchful eye of the czars and with various levels of support or suppression from each of these rulers and the governors-general who were assigned to the Grand Duchy.²

Over the course of Russian rule, Finns maintained several aspects of their traditional social structure, including the Lutheran church as the state church, the Swedish legal system, and the social and governmental structure provided by the Estates (Meinander 2011, 76). During the decades of the Grand Duchy, Finland established its own bank in 1811, collected and managed its own taxes, and in 1860 developed its own currency (Lavery 2006, 62; see also Kuusterä and Tarkka 2011). Initially, Finns were not conscripted into the Russian military, first paying a tax to cover Russian protection, then maintaining their own localized military after 1878 (Meinander 2011, 83, 99; Laitinen 2005). The city of Helsinki was established as the new capital city because of the presence of its harbor, its proximity to the Sveaborg fortress, and its lack of ties to Sweden (Schoolfield 1996, 8–9). Helsinki was designed to resemble a “miniature St. Petersburg” (Meinander 2011, 80). In 1828, following the devastating 1827 Great Fire of Turku (Swe. Åbo), Helsinki became the home of the nation’s only university when the Royal Academy of Åbo relocated to Helsinki and received its own building in 1832 on the Senate Square (Lavery 2006, 54). Established as a royal Swedish university in 1640, the university became the Imperial Alexander University, named after Czar Alexander I, who was instrumental in funding research carried out in this institution.³

During the time of the Grand Duchy, ideas of independence were hatched and nourished as part of Finland’s National Romantic movement. These ideas were largely kindled by academics, who sought to define a unique Finnish cultural identity that could be

2 For key documents relating to Finland’s path to independence, translated into English, see Kirby 1975. For a concise history of Finland in English, see, for example, Kirby 2006; also Lavery 2006 and Meinander 2011.

3 For the University of Helsinki’s history, see, for example, <http://www.helsinki.fi/yliopistonhistoria/english/index.htm>.

found in Finland’s native folklore and language. Inspired by the German philosophers Herder and Hegel, these scholars also built on the works of earlier writers in Finland. Sixteenth-century religious reformer Mikael Agricola and scholars Henrik Gabriel Porthan and Cristfried Ganander were among those who had collected and documented aspects of Finnish folk culture.⁴ At first, the collection of folklore was a purely academic pursuit, but, early in the Grand Duchy period, it came to have deeper political importance, and language was a key aspect of its new significance (Lavery 2006, 56).

With the establishment of the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura) in 1831, a formal platform for Finnish literature and folklore was created. With support for research, Lönnrot and his contemporaries conducted fieldwork that led to the publication of the two best-known editions of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala* (the *Old Kalevala* in 1835 and the finalized *Kalevala* in 1849). This work also led to the discovery by Castrén that Finnish was a part of a “great language family” (Uralic languages) that extended into Russia (Wilson 1976, 43) and nurtured the belief that a country with stories worthy of those by Homer and Virgil deserved its independence and deserved that the language of its people should be recognized as a national language. Language, however, was a sensitive subject among the Swedish-speaking elite in Finland. The language question divided Finland’s educated elite into Fennomans, the promoters of Finnish culture, language, and nation—and Svecomans, the often noble and mostly wealthy Swedish-speakers (Goss 2009, 135). However, the Fennomans (often of Swedish backgrounds and always literate in Swedish, as well as in other languages) fought harder for the Finnish cause the more oppressive the Russian czar’s grip on Finland became.

Socially, Finland underwent many changes beyond the language question during the Grand Duchy period. The Estate system, initially preserved after the transfer from Swedish to Russian rule, proved incompatible with the development of the industrial working class, a group that did not fit neatly into the categories defined in this old system (see, e.g., Gluschkoff 2008). The breakdown of the traditional class structure was accelerated by many factors,

4 Of course, in the case of Agricola, some aspects of collecting were more respectful of Finnish traditions than others. Proverbs, for instance, were useful in creating rapport between the church and the folk, while Finnish non-Christian folk beliefs were useful to understand in order to destroy them (cf. Wilson 1976, 6–7).

including population growth and the resultant landlessness of rural peasants, famines that were especially deadly between 1866 and 1868 (see Häkkinen's chapter in this volume), and the movement of people from their traditional communities to urban centers for industrial jobs. Social movements (including religious and nationalistic movements) and mass emigration between 1880 and 1914 had their effects on the Estates system as well (Lavery 2006, 61, 66). The traditional organization of society was transformed through the growth of civil society and the disassociation with ancestral regions and deep social ties.

Because of an increasing number of czarist violations against the autonomous Grand Duchy, the independence movement strengthened, and a relative consensus developed among Finns that an independent Finland should become a reality. Already beginning in the reign of Alexander III, Finnish autonomy came into question, with attempts being made from St. Petersburg to incorporate Finnish financial, legislative, and military institutions into the Russian empire. Nicholas II attempted several times to incorporate Finland more strongly into the empire. Perhaps his most famous failure in this regard was the 1901 Conscription Law, according to which Finns were made to serve in the Russian Army with the possibility of being stationed anywhere in the empire. When the conscripted Finns were required to report for duty the following year, only about half did so (Meinander 2011, 119). Finns were not the only dissatisfied group in the empire, and they wholeheartedly participated in the empire-wide 1905 General Strike, which forced Nicholas II to make a number of concessions and resulted in the creation of Finland's single-chamber Parliament, as well as universal suffrage and the ability of women to stand for office in the parliament. As Europe drifted into World War I and Finland continued to recognize the potential for national independence, Russia's continued internal problems, leading to revolution, provided Finland with the chance to break free (Lavery 2006, 76–77, 82–84).

The events associated with the Bolshevik coup in October 1917 provided a context in which, with the leadership of Pehr Edwin Svinhufvud, Finland's declaration of independence was presented to the Parliament. The approval date by the Parliament, December 6th, 1917, marks the beginning of the independent nation. Finland's birth as an independent nation resulted in the bloody and divisive Civil War—an event still difficult to discuss today—but its 100 years on training wheels provided by the Russian Empire had provided

Finland with enough of an infrastructure to maintain independence to the present day.

This Theme Issue

The present collection includes recent, previously unpublished scholarship that asks questions related to events during the time of the Grand Duchy and leading to Finland’s declaration of independence. In our call for papers, we asked the contributors to consider a wide range of topics typically associated with the time of Finland’s autonomy. The topics we had in mind included the following:

- Finland Swedes and other minorities in Finland during the time of the Russian rule;
- the language question;
- Russification efforts and the years of oppression;
- the relations of Russian czars to Finland;
- the rise of socialism;
- women’s voting rights and women’s status in general;
- Finland’s army and military history;
- National Romanticism in music, literature, the *Kalevala*, art, and architecture;
- political history and politics;
- church history;
- personal history;
- social issues;
- famine;
- geography; and
- learned societies and cultural institutions.

For the coherence of the volume, we asked that all the contributors remain focused on how the particular topic they chose to address contributes to answering the following question: how does this work amplify our understanding of some of the factors that led to Finland’s independence?

The response to our call for papers, distributed during the fall of 2016, surprised us. We were expecting a strong focus on traditional themes; however, the contributors showed us that themes such as poverty (Häkkinen), hunger (Seppä), and illness (Hakosalo) were also a significant part of Finland’s road to independence. Thus, in this celebratory collection, the authors do not approach Finland’s quest for independence from the usual, conventional points of view. The perspectives on the time of the Grand Duchy of Finland that the authors offer are fresh and unconventional. Topics that seem to concern the merely trivial necessities of people’s daily lives—such

as food (Kylli)—are shown to be integral parts of the economic, environmental, and historical development of an emerging nation. The time of autonomy is looked at from startling perspectives, and the focus is removed from the typical milestones such as Finland's issuing its own currency and postage stamps, and the great politicians behind Finland's achievements. But even in a non-traditional collection about Finland's road to its independence, you will find the Järnefelts (Hong), and you will find Kivi (Nummi). And with surprises and twists to the traditional interpretations, you will still find the *Kalevala* (Tarkka, Stepanova, and Haapoja-Mäkelä; and Lehtonen).

Introducing the Chapters

This collection consists of the introduction by the editors and eight chapters. Some surprising, some more predictable themes arise.

The first cluster of three articles includes "The *Kalevala*'s Languages: Receptions, Myths, and Ideologies," by Tarkka, Stepanova, and Haapoja-Mäkelä; Lehtonen's "*Kalevala* Ecology: Bioregional Aesthetics and Sámi Environmental Autonomy"; and Seppä's "'Lest They Go Hungry': Negotiations on Money and Survival." At first sight it seems that two of these chapters address highly traditional topics: the *Kalevala* and Lönnrot. However, the approaches that the authors take are novel and fresh.

Elias Lönnrot's work as the collector of oral folk poetry and the compiler of Finland's national epic was instrumental for Finland's national awakening. In their lead article, Lotte Tarkka, Eila Stepanova, and Heidi Haapoja-Mäkelä acknowledge Lönnrot's significance in the process of making an independent Finland; however, the authors direct attention to the language issues surrounding his work and how it was initially viewed in both Swedish- and Russian-speaking circles. Grounding their research in nineteenth-century Finnish, Swedish, and Russian sources, the authors discuss the reception of the *Kalevala* not only by the proponents of Finnishness (whose positive reception of Lönnrot's work was to be expected), but also by Swedish-speaking Finns, and, most interestingly, by the Russian-speaking intelligentsia. Jakov Grot's efforts as the promoter of the *Kalevala*—the national epic of a Grand Duchy—in Russia were important, especially since Grot became the vice president of the Russian Academy of Science in St. Petersburg. An interesting tidbit is that L. P. Belsky, the Russian translator of the *Kalevala*, had to learn Finnish in order to translate it. An important contribution of this chapter is the discussion of Russian-language sources, which

the authors have translated into English for the benefit of our readership. The authors also discuss the language of the *Kalevala* in the light of standard Finnish versus regional dialects, and they address the nationally sensitive issue of the *Kalevala*'s authenticity. They point to Lönnrot's honest admission of his poetic license, and what ultimately crystallizes from this chapter is Lönnrot's vision in his editorial decisions and the *Kalevala*'s positive impact on the development of a standard Finnish language and on the status of Finnish in general. Importantly, in the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot provided the budding nation with a bridge to a mythical past from which to draw strength and inspiration for the building of an independent future.

In "*Kalevala* Ecology: Bioregional Aesthetics and Sámi Environmental Autonomy," Jonathan Lehtonen continues the *Kalevala* theme from an ecocritical angle. Lehtonen starts by juxtaposing expressions of Finnish National Romanticism (often materializing in celebrations of the *Kalevala* as Finland's national epic) with its negative flipside, the advertent or inadvertent dismissal of the rich Sámi folklore tradition. Adding to this criticism, Lehtonen also lists the implied North versus South conflict and a negative portrayal of, for instance, Louhi, the mistress of the North Farm—as possibly a representative of the Sámi people. Lehtonen, however, quickly turns these criticisms around by showing how they may be based on rigid categorizations and dichotomies that the *Kalevala*'s text and spirit do not support. Introducing the notions of "human-animality intertwining" and "bioregionalism," Lehtonen underscores how the *Kalevala*'s impressive, forested nature offers a home for people of all ethnicities, for animals, waters, plants, and supernatural powers—all of which are ecologically interdependent on one another. When felling a forest to create a cultivated field, Väinämöinen leaves one birch tree for birds to nest; his thoughtfulness is later paid back when a bird comes to save Väinämöinen's life.

In the *Kalevala*, Lehtonen sees the merger of conservation efforts of both cultural and environmental resources. In Finnish folk poetry, natural resources, humans, and animals interact with one another, and humans appreciate and preserve the flora and fauna that engulf them. Folklore collectors—Lönnrot and many others—can be seen in a similar fluid relationship to the Finnish cultural resources that they painstakingly commenced to preserve during the period of the Grand Duchy of Finland.

Tiina Seppä's article takes the reader to the lives of the collectors—the preservers of Finland's cultural riches. After its founding

in 1831, the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura) became instrumental in initiating the systematic collection of Finnish literature and literary artifacts for future generations. The many people who contributed to these collection efforts were sometimes volunteers and sometimes semi-professional writers who, for a small fee, provided SKS with donations of writings. In her article entitled “‘Lest They Go Hungry’: Negotiations on Money and Survival,” Tiina Seppä shows how the ordinary may become extraordinary: the collectors’ ordinary lives were full of economic worries, yet they helped to accomplish invaluable services through the drudgery of their work. Through citations of the collectors’ letters to the Finnish Literature Society, Seppä shows brilliantly how the collectors struggled economically while helping to preserve and create Finland’s literary riches. Without these people who sacrificed their time for small and often uncertain remunerations, we would not have the rich collections we have today. A quick allusion to today’s short-term academic jobs is also refreshing: many of those who today benefit from the folklore collections and use them for their research may find themselves in similarly uncertain economic situations as the people who helped to collect the materials during the decades of the Grand Duchy of Finland. The three chapters by Tarkka, Stepanova, and Haapoja-Mäkelä, Lehtonen, and Seppä remind twenty-first-century readers of nineteenth-century folklore collectors’ vision and determination—and also their daily struggles.

From the world of the ordinary collectors, Barbara Hong takes us to the world of the nobility in her overview article, “The Järnefelt, Finnish National Romanticism, and Sibelius.” Hong’s chapter may very well seem the most predictable topic in a collection about Finland’s road to independence: we have a key Fennoman character, Alexander Järnefelt, and his wife, Elisabeth, whose literary circles incubated prominent cultural figures, such as Juhani Aho. We have the extraordinarily gifted Järnefelt children, including Arvid, the author, Eero, the painter, Armas, the composer, and Kasper, the educator and translator. And we have Aino, who dedicated her life to cultivating the circumstances in which the composer of *Finlandia*, Jean Sibelius, could produce his great music and lead Finland into international cultural consciousness.

But the Järnefelt family is not merely an extraordinary family in Finland at the time when the country was going through its birthing pains. The matrimony of Alexander Järnefelt, a Finland Swede, and his wife, Elisabeth, née Clodt von Jürgensburg, a Russian noblewoman, invites an interpretation as an allegory of the birth

of Finland, with Father Sweden and Mother Russia, who through their union engendered the independent nation of Finland and equipped it with rich cultural gifts: literature, fine arts, and music.⁵

Another cultural treasure given to the Grand Duchy by one of its young talents, Aleksis Kivi, was the novel *Seven Brothers* (Fin. *Seitsemän veljestä*). This was the first major Finnish novel written by a Finn, and it was published in 1870. While the Järnefelt family can be seen as an allegory for the birth of Finland, Jyrki Nummi, in his article “Shipwreck in the Sea of Life: Sea Voyage in Aleksis Kivi’s *Seven Brothers*,” introduces a number of parallels between Kivi’s book and classic (and classical) literary motifs. A powerful sea voyage motif runs through the novel as the brothers embark on their adventures and slowly mature toward a responsible state of respectable citizenship. With the incubated independent state of Finland as a reference point, Nummi draws further parallels to Plato’s parable of the state as a ship. Another comparison between the Fennoman movement and the seven brothers emerges with the brothers’ power struggles during their time of exile and immaturity. Kivi leaves his rowdy bunch in an established state of peace, looking into the future with contentment. The ordinary brothers complete an extraordinary “sea voyage” and land in a serene harbor. Kivi himself died in 1872 and was not able to see the independent Finland which he must have envisioned.

The collection ends with a cluster consisting of three articles: Antti Häkkinen’s “The Great Famine of the 1860s in Finland: An Important Turning Point or Setback?”; Ritva Kylli’s “National Identity and the Shaping of Finnish Food Taste”; and Heini Hakosalo’s “A Twin Grip on ‘The National Disease’: Finnish Anti-Tuberculosis Associations and Their Contribution to Nation-Formation (1907–17).” These articles amplify our understanding of the era of the Grand Duchy from below and lead the reader very close to the ordinary people of the country that we now know as Finland. What role did hunger, changing food tastes, and fatal diseases have in Finland’s national formation? As Heini Hakosalo argues in her chapter, the term *nation-formation* refers to the broad and often entangled processes through which a nation—as distinct from the state and ethnic community—comes into being.

In his chapter, Antti Häkkinen gives a broad and theoretically solid view on the great famine years of Finland in the 1860s.

5 For more on the Järnefelt family (written in Finnish), see, for instance, Arvid Järnefeldt’s autobiographical *Vanhempieni romaani* ([1928, 1929, 1930] 1976); also Talas (1999).

About 270,000 people died of hunger within three years. Because Finland's population in 1868 was only 1.8 million, the mortality rate was thus enormous. At the same time, another 100,000 made the decision to leave their rural villages to move to neighboring areas within Finland, or even further: to Ruija in northern Norway or to Russian towns outside the Grand Duchy. Of those who left for Russia, many returned after the situation became better; of the ones who moved to Ruija, many continued their journey to North America. As Häkkinen points out, there were several areas in Finland that met the criteria for extreme famine conditions. Hunger, mortality, and long-distance migration are well illustrated in the article. At the beginning of 1868, 58 percent of the total population in Oulu province, 56 percent in Kuopio, and 41 percent in Mikkeli were in acute need of help. In many cases, however, the authorities were totally helpless. The country roads were filled with men, women, children, and the elderly who were actually beyond hope because the situation was not easy for those more fortunate either. For those people who lived by lakes, rivers, and the ocean, the situation was better because of their access to fish. However, access to fishing equipment was also a question of wealth.

People had different coping strategies: some begged even though begging was illegal; some chose to migrate far away. Those who stayed in their home regions used substitutes such as bark, lichen, straw, husk, arum, birch, common reed, and grass to make bread, but bread made with these substitutes hardly gave enough calories to support survival.

Weather conditions and crop failure are often blamed as the causes of the famine, but Häkkinen shows convincingly how another culprit was the rigid, almost feudal social system: some members of the population, the poor, were in a much more vulnerable position than those who had some wealth. This was a situation where food security was not available throughout society. Häkkinen's use of oral history material collected by the Finnish Literature Society illustrates the fate of the hungry in an exceptional way.

Ritva Kylli's article shifts the focus from famine to food. Through a discussion of Finnish dishes, both age-old and those introduced later, Kylli illustrates how vague and difficult the concept of "Finnish" is (cf. also Häkli 2005). Even though there are some traditional menu items which have been typical of Finland for centuries, food choices have always been influenced by other areas and other groups of people that have come into contact with Finland through travel, migration, or other cultural exchange (see also Raento 2005; Snellman

2016). Diet choices do not necessarily migrate independently; they are often introduced to new geographic areas by people who work on food and through contacts between these people. Immigrants from Central Europe started new businesses in Finland, which resulted in national icons such as the Fazer blue chocolate.

Already in the 1860s, Finnish newspapers mentioned some foodstuffs as “national dishes.” Some of the dishes, for example *talkkuna*, had a long history in Finland and had been used by hunters in the woods, by fishermen on lakes and rivers, and by agricultural laborers making hay in the meadows. These dishes were light to carry, and they lasted weeks in the knapsack of birch bark. But some of the foodstuffs, as Kylli points out, were newcomers to the Finnish diet. By the beginning of the twentieth century, certain imported foods had become a part of the national food identity.

In the Finnish countryside, the daily diet was mostly a result of ecological conditions. Vernacular architecture also resulted in different food traditions in different regions of Finland. Some of the commodities, such as salt, were not naturally available in Finland and had to be imported. Along came herring, which soon became a national fish even though it had to be fished in waters further away. Rice and coffee are examples of imported foodstuffs which were first adopted by the members of the upper class and only later could be found in the cupboards of people with fewer resources. Nineteenth-century inventions, from tin cans to railroads, gradually started to break down the constraints of the environment as the principal factor determining food and consumption habits.

Kylli argues that food was one of the national symbols that Finnish national identity was built on before Finland gained its independence in 1917. Thus, the great narrative of a nation does not consist only of landscapes, historical events, national symbols, and rituals. Kylli’s article shows how flexible that narrative is.

In the final article in this collection, Heini Hakosalo asks how the two Finnish anti-tuberculosis associations, founded a decade before Finland’s independence, both contributed to the nation-formation of Finland. The decade around the turn of the century saw the launching of high-profile public campaigns against tuberculosis, in practically all industrialized countries. In Finland the work was done by two non-governmental anti-tuberculosis associations founded in the same year, in 1907: *Keräystoimikunta Vähävaraisten Keuhkotautisten Avustamiseksi* (The Collection Commission for the Benefit of Impecunious Consumptives) and *Tuberkulosin Vastustamisyhdistys* (Anti-Tuberculosis Association).

Hakosalo argues that the associations made a significant contribution to nation formation. Fighting against the major cause of death—in 1900, pulmonary tuberculosis accounted for about 14 percent of general mortality—was both ideological and practical. This common enemy, albeit invisible, united people. The language question was crucial at the beginning of the twentieth century, but the associations were not divided particularly along the language lines between Finnish and Swedish. However, when the two associations agreed on a division of labor, it was self-evident that one association would concentrate on the eastern part of the country, with a mainly Finnish-speaking population, and the other on the western part, with a larger Swedish-speaking population. Both associations founded, supported, or ran a variety of institutions: dispensaries, sanatoria, preventoria, and children's summer colonies. They also contributed to popular health education and even conducted epidemiological studies, thus defining the common enemy and identifying different ways in which to fight this enemy. As a result of the work done by these two associations and because of their "tuberculosis propaganda," the patterns of people's daily lives changed and important healthy habits were established. Washing hands side by side made people realize that they were responsible not only for their own but also for their fellow citizens' health. Without explicit knowledge about what the future was to bring for Finland, these anti-tuberculosis associations thus prepared the citizens of the Grand Duchy of Finland for a responsible, healthier future as an independent nation.



These eight articles delve into the time of the Grand Duchy of Finland from different scholarly angles and through traditional themes with unanticipated twists. As this collection celebrates the entry of Finland into its second independent century, it also marks the beginning of the third decade for the *Journal of Finnish Studies*. We hope you enjoy this theme issue.

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The *Kalevala*'s Languages: Receptions, Myths, and Ideologies

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Abstract

In Finland, the epic *Kalevala* (1835, 1849) and *Kalevala*-meter poetry, or oral folk poetry more generally, are often seen as nationally significant symbols of Finnishness. The *Kalevala* is a modern literary product constructed by Elias Lönnrot out of Finnic folk poetry especially from Russian Karelia, Finland, and Ingria. Lönnrot, who was himself among the most significant collectors of oral poetry, created the *Kalevala* as a synthetic, organized compendium of (reconstructed) pre-modern “Finnish” culture. Beginning from the publication of the first edition in 1835, the *Kalevala* has been extremely significant in the creation of Finnish national and ethnic identity.

In this article, we discuss the engenderment of Finnishness and Finnish culture in terms of language ideologies by looking closely at the *Kalevala*'s languages, language-specific reception of the epic, Lönnrot's language ideologies, and politics of language standardization in the contexts of the Grand Duchy of Finland and Russia. We argue that in these processes, Finnish was strongly symbolized and given a mythological charter: it was the language encapsulating ancestral heritage, and it was the language that the

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Finns were obliged to develop, learn, and teach. For the needs of the nation, the language had to be refined and homogenized, made into a standard language. In this process, the Karelian language and culture were implicitly absorbed into Finnish cultural heritage but not recognized and valued as coeval cultural realities: in both Finnish and Russian discourses, Karelia represented the past of the present-day Finnishness, but not the present day of Karelianness.

Keywords: language ideologies, the *Kalevala*, nationalism

Introduction

Myths are narratives that tell us who we are and where we come from; they define the spatial and temporal nexus of human individuals and societies. In contrast to historical research, the study of culture defines myths as meaningful models of the structure of reality. Myths also provide models for the conduct of social life and are thus essentially ideological—they orchestrate values, sanction norms, and legitimate power. Mythic history is a mode of historical knowledge that presents historical time as a continuation of the mythic time of origins and creation; present-day societies are linked to gods and demiurges by genealogy (Siikala and Siikala 2005, 61). The epic is the quintessential genre for mythic history, and, in the case of national epics, the narrative sketches out the emergence of a people and a nation from its origins in the beginning of time up until the present day. Myths of nationhood are essentially ideological in their origins and their uses. They are rooted in the political aims and needs of groups of people, and they offer narratives and symbols for the legitimation of the power relations between these groups.

The *Kalevala* is the national epic of Finland. Although the notion of the national character of this work by Elias Lönnrot emerged gradually (Sarajas 1984, 39–40), and indeed in dialogue with constructions of the national in the Finnish context, a particular quality was recognized immediately and even anticipated. Even before the publication of the first edition of the *Kalevala* in 1835, it was interpreted as a mythic narrative on Finnishness (Honko 1990b, 202–4): it told about the origin and early history of Finns, and it represented values supposedly shared by Finns (P. Anttonen 2005, 145). Even the dominant narrative of the role played by the national epic in the formation of national culture and a nation-state is mythic. This narrative eulogizes the demiurge Elias Lönnrot who, with his heroic deeds, bestowed a founding narrative upon

the nation. In the 1835 annual report of the Finnish Literature Society, published in the newspaper *Helsingfors Morgonblad* a couple of months before the publication of the first edition of the *Kalevala* (the *Old Kalevala*), Johan Gabriel Linsén celebrated the epic and its founder:

The county doctor of Kajana, Mr. Doctor E. Lönnrot [. . .] has, during his many and wide ranging wanderings among the Finns living in the Government of Archangel, recorded a wealth of *Poems* [*Runot*] that the country people there have conserved through tradition and song, and in putting them together he has made the utterly remarkable discovery of a great, complete, mythical national epic [. . .]. Through incredible labor, albeit sweetly rewarded by his success, the clear-sighted discoverer and arranger has dovetailed the broken pieces of this ancient Finnish poem and thus rescued it from near perdition, or rather: brought into daylight something that already lay in shattered fragments, buried in oblivion.^{2 3}

In his speech at the annual meeting of the society, Linsén defined Lönnrot's work as a commodity owned by the nation:

With these epic poems in one's possession, Finland may, with an elevating self-awareness, learn to rightly understand its ancient times, and along with that, also its future spiritual development. Finland may tell itself: I, too, have a history.⁴

2 Provincial-Läkaren i Kajana, Herr Doktor E. Lönnrot [. . .] har, under många och vidsträckta vandringar bland de i Archangelska Gouvernemetet boende Finnar, upptecknat ett rikt antal genom tradition och sång hos allmogen der förvarade Runot, och vid dessas sammanställning gjort den högst märkvärdiga upptäckten af ett stort fulländadt mythiskt national-epos [. . .]. Med otrolig möda, men denna af framgången herrligt belönad, har den skarpsynte upptecknarn och ordnarn fogat ihop de brutna stycken af detta Finska Fornqväde, och sålunda räddat det från nära undergång, eller rättare: helt i dagen återbragt, hvad som redan låg i spridda spillror begrafvet af glömskan. (Linsén 1835, 2)

3 Unless otherwise indicated, the translations in this article from Finnish, Russian, and Swedish are by the authors.

4 Finland i besittning af dessa episka dikter skall med upplyftande sjelfkänsla lära sig att rätt förstå sin forntid, och med den äfven sin framtida andeutveckling. Det skall kunna säga till sig sjelft: "Äfven jag har en historie!" (SKS KIA 1836, §1)

Linsén saw that with this invaluable resource Finnish culture had attained “an almost European significance” (SKS KIA 1836, §1). Later, the historian Yrjö Koskinen went on to argue that, together with the Finnish language, the epic was “the natural capital of our national spirit” and “an entry ticket to the ballroom of civilized nations” (Koskinen 1878, 284). The existence of a national, vernacular literature was a precondition for the international exchange that established the “great alliance of human progress” (283–84). Although the attribution of the formation of a Finnish nation and an independent nation-state to the *Kalevala* might be an overstatement (see P. Anttonen 2008, 209), the epic had a decisive role in the cultural sphere. As a literary work with many artistic adaptations, political uses, and ritual renderings, it performed Finnishness: it provided the symbols and the narratives to give shape to a national history, ethos, and language.

In this article, we will discuss the engenderment of Finnishness and Finnish culture in terms of language ideologies, or discourses that articulate the meanings, uses, and forms of language in a given community, in a given historical context. The making and the reception of the national epic are grounded in the perceived interconnections between language, culture, history, and nation. This interconnectedness has been discussed mainly in the context of Romantic Nationalism, but here, we will concentrate on the arguments and values attached to language in general and the languages involved in the process of making a national epic and a pioneering literary work in a language that lacked both written literature and a standardized form. The creation and reception of the *Kalevala* are intertwined in what Law (1998) has called language-extrinsic myths: notions and beliefs concerning a language’s origin, history, future, and relation to the speakers’ national character (see also P. Anttonen 2012, 342). The context for these myths is the Herderian notion of the folk: language, literature, and history formed a mythic whole that was expressed in its purest form in folk poetry (Sulkunen 2004, 25–26). In order to better understand these ideologies and myths, we will look closely at the *Kalevala*’s languages, language-specific reception of the epic, Lönnrot’s language ideologies, and the politics of language standardization. Because the story of the reception of the *Kalevala* among the Swedish elite in Finland is better known (e.g., P. Anttonen 2005, 166–67; 2012, 333–38), we will focus on the Russian reception in relation to Lönnrot’s ideas.

The Kalevalaic

Ideas, images, and entities that are interpreted as stemming from the *Kalevala*, or as reflecting its aesthetics, values, and language, are often called Kalevalaic (Fin. adj. *kalevalainen*; see, e.g., Siikala 2002). The noun *kalevalaisuus* is built from the name of the epic with the suffix *-laisuus*, which indicates a state or a quality or refers to a cause or an -ism.⁵ This “Kalevala-ness” or “Kalevalaicity” is an ideological and biased construct that still filters the public view on the national epic, Finnish mythology, and a purportedly shared national culture. The construct has four facets that steer the implicit and explicit interpretations of the epic. The first bias concerns the epic’s authenticity and the second its archaic quality; according to the third biased notion, the *Kalevala* is unequivocally Finnish, and the fourth asserts that this Finnishness refers to a homogenous group of people with cultural consensus.

In the discourse centering on the *Kalevala*’s authenticity, the issue has been to define the extent to which Lönnrot’s epic represents a supposed ancient epos or oral poetry in general and how it does this. According to the romantic notion, the ancient epic had no individual maker: the subject behind this expression of the *Volksgeist* was the folk. The notion clearly downplays the role of the compiler of the epic. Lönnrot himself never tried to deny his contribution although he did not print his name on the title page of the *Kalevala*. In his letters, writings, and in the forewords of the *Kalevala*’s editions, he described in detail the ways in which he had reworked and organized the oral sources and written manuscripts at his disposal (see Apo 2004, 273–91). He confessed to having used poetic license—like the singers of the oral sources had (Lönnrot [1849b] 1993, 403). The initial audience—the Swedish-speaking but Finnish-minded gentlefolk in Finland—did not want to hear this: they needed a folk epic, and that is what they saw. As Linsén stated above, Lönnrot had found the remnants of an ancient unified epic and restored its past glory.

5 The neutral translation of the adjective *kalevalainen* is, according to the Wiktionary, “of pertaining to Kalevala” (*Wiktionary: The Free Dictionary*, s.v. “kalevalainen,” accessed February 8, 2018, <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/kalevalainen>). The name of the epic, *Kalevala*, is a toponym created by Lönnrot to denote the home region of the epic’s heroes. Kaleva, a name or word used in oral poetry for giants, young men, and bridegrooms, was for Lönnrot the name of the forefather of the Finns (Lönnrot 1963, 367–70, 378–79). Lönnrot elaborated on this idea by composing a poem on Kaleva’s heroic deeds (see Tarkka 1996, 77–78).

Still haunted by the ghost of Macpherson and the Ossian fraud,⁶ Lönnrot wanted to make his sources public—open access to the source material would convince the audience on the authenticity of the *Kalevala* (Apo 2004, 277). The Svecoman intelligentsia was especially eager to mock Lönnrot and express its doubts about the *Kalevala*'s authenticity—in the words of a lampoonist, "The old man has sung it all up himself" (*rallattaa kokoon*) (Ahrenberg 1914, 146; Häggman 2012, 179–80). This primary aspect of authenticity was assessed in the source-critical studies by Kaukonen (1939, 1956), who showed that on the level of single poetic lines, the *Kalevala* consists of verses originating in folk poetry—only 3 percent of the lines were composed by Lönnrot. This, as Kaukonen (1990, 157–65) himself noted, is only one, initial aspect of authenticity. As a whole, the epic is designed and versified by its compiler, Lönnrot: the contents, the personae, and the plot are his making. Honko (1990a, 1990b) has suggested that we should distinguish between different levels of authenticity. To the levels of verse lines, themes, and plots, one should add the level of the epic's national attribution. The authenticity of the national epic rests on the acknowledgement of the epic as belonging to the people and the nation (1990a, 1990b). More precisely this level of authenticity is grounded in the arguments by which its national status is legitimized and the power relations of the people taking part in the appropriation (see also P. Anttonen 2008).

In order to manage the projection from the poems collected in the early nineteenth century to the supposedly original ancient strata of culture, it was necessary to perceive the poems as resistant to change. The poems were essentially archaic, and they carried the past within them as if fossilized: the archaic is not only old, but also bygone. The noun favored by nationalist scholars was *muinaisuus*—a word derived from the adjective *muinainen* 'ancient': it was not only necessary to unveil "ancient poems," but also "ancient beliefs," "ancient time," and other similar "ancient relics" (*muinaisruno*, *-usko*, *-aika*, *-muisto*). Fewster (2006, 97–98) has noted that the invention of these compounds reflects the ideological

6 James Macpherson published his Ossianic poems between 1760 and 1763 and claimed them to be translations of songs by Gaelic bards from the third century AD. After Macpherson's death the poems were shown to be Macpherson's work based on Scottish ballads, folk narratives, and medieval manuscripts. The publication had a strong impact on Scottish identity, and the denial of the poems' authenticity caused an animated debate in Europe (see, e.g., Apo 2004, 274–77; Honko 1990b, 224–25; Thomson 1990).

importance of the distant past and that they can be dated to the years between the publication of the first and the second edition of the *Kalevala* (1835–49). Lönnrot was not only the strategic actor in the formulation of the signifieds of these words by collecting and compiling poetry that was to be understood as ancient and reflecting ancient beliefs and times—he also invented the neologisms for ancient poetry, belief, and time. According to the archaic bias, the people who had sung the poems in Karelia to Lönnrot and his fellow collectors were passive carriers of tradition, and their lives were oriented toward the past. This notion was essential in Karelianism, a cultural movement that emphasized the role of Karelia in the construction of Finnish culture (see Sihvo 1973; Tarkka 1989). In Karelianist terms, Karelia was a channel to bygone days: “In Russian Karelia, there among our eastern brothers, all the way behind Lake Ladoga, you can get hold of such a magnifying glass with which anyone can see centuries to the future and to the past” (Grönqvist 1884, 3). Thus Karelian mores reflected the past in an unproblematic way. The present of the *runo*⁷ singers could only blur the vista to the old times.

The majority of Lönnrot's sources for the *Kalevala* originated in areas outside of Finland, in Russian Karelia. This itself is a strongly symbolic statement, as exemplified by this quote from the homepage of the Information Center of the Kalevala and Karelian culture, Juminkeko: “The roots of Finnish culture are in the Viena Karelian villages surrounded by wilderness. There the folk poetry that gave birth to the *Kalevala* was collected from the illiterate common people” (Juminkeko). The formulation illustrates a transfer of symbolic resources from the periphery to the cultural centers as an outcome of an organic process, the “birth” of the epic (see Tarkka 1989). The eastern periphery was associated with nature and the natural—and thus authentic—but the Finnish culture with its organic roots in this nature was becoming civilized (1989).

The Finnishness of the *Kalevala* is an ideological construct that has been legitimized in various ways. The first of these was the postulated common ethnic origin of the groups that had kept the *runo* singing tradition alive. The subtitle of the first edition of the *Kalevala* (1835), “Old poems of Karelia from the ancient times

7 In this article we use the term *runo* (runo singer, runo language, etc.) as an attribute of singers or the act of performing or singing poems in the vernacular Finnic poetic meter, the so called Kalevala-meter of Kalevalaic poetry (on the *runo* language, see, e.g., Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch 1997, 62–65).

of the Finnish people,”⁸ highlights this idea: the poems indicated a common past and a common ancestry for Karelians and Finns, and, thus, the poems collected in Karelia were practically Finnish. Similarly, the thirty-four-volume anthology of Kalevala-meter poetry, originally designed to testify to Lönnrot’s fidelity to the oral sources, is called *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (Ancient poems of the Finnish people; SKVR). The “Finnish people” could also refer to other Finnic peoples, or even to the Finno-Ugric “tribes” (see, e.g., P. Anttonen 2012, 347). This particular idea gained political currency in the 1930s and 1940s (Wilson 1976, 138–61).

Rather than being collected from either Finnish or Karelian areas, the source poems of the *Kalevala* were collected from both Finnish and Karelian areas that were characterized by a multitude of ethnic and linguistic identities.⁹ However, the notion of “the Finnish people” stressed homogeneity in terms of language, ethnicity, cultural dispositions, values, and social status. Accordingly, folk poetry reflected a unified mindset and monologic culture: in the end, folk poetry was created in a collective process in which the *Volkgeist* sought to be expressed. The source poems that were richly varied and contextually bound to diverse cultural surroundings and expressive practices were transformed by Lönnrot into a cohesive literary text with a homogenous cultural aura. A decisive aspect of “homogeneity,” or “the ideological foundation of the discursive production of national homogeneity” (P. Anttonen 2005, 128, see also 153; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998) is the reconceptualization of linguistic diversity in the source material that will soon be discussed in detail.

Homogeneity also affected the way in which the collective and individual aspects of vernacular creativity were treated. As already stated, the producers of Lönnrot’s source material, the runo singers, were treated as potential obstacles in the search for the original. In the context of homogeneity, the perception of the folk was molded into representations that reduced individuals into “types” or “folk types” (*kansantyyppi*). Depending on the context, these types could be subjected to abjection and civilizing enterprises, or be revered

8 *Kalevala taikka wanhoja Karjalan runoja Suomen kansan muinosista ajoista.*

9 Väinö Kaukonen’s (1939, 1956) source analysis has shown that material from Viena Karelia, Ingria, and Olonets (i.e., the “Russian areas”) comprises less than half of the 6,000 folk poems that Lönnrot had at his disposal while compiling the second edition of the *Kalevala* (1849). Although more than half of the poems were collected from Finnish-Karelian areas, the poems of Viena were most influential in the composition and basic plot of the epic.

and idolized (Knuuttila 1994, 112–13; Tarkka 1989, 252–53). The idolized and idealized folk types were linked to respectable prototypes in classical antiquity (Knuuttila 1994, 112–13; Tarkka 1989, 252–53). At this level, the uncivilized common people could be transformed into paragons for the new national ethos.

In the articulation of all four facets of the Kalevalaic ideology, the role played by language was crucial. The authentic and archaic folk epic originating in the ancient history of the Finns was produced by a homogenous people that spoke “Finnish”—at least in principle. The task of Lönnrot was perceived as a reconstructive act, in which the original glory and linguistic purity were restored. This epic was the legitimate cornerstone of the Finnish language, and of literature in this language. The people who spoke this language were the forefathers of Finns, and the mindset of this ancient people could be found in the poems collected in the nineteenth century because the poems were repositories of old wisdom and the people wished to keep their archaic traditions intact. The oral poems provided a link to the mythic past of the nation, and they also showed the way to the future. The rhetoric of the Kalevalaic heritage is rooted in the politics of history and questions of linguistic ideology and praxis (see P. Anttonen 2008; Fewster 2008).

Reception of the *Kalevala* and Finnish Folk Poetry in Russia

Lönnrot's project of compiling the epic and developing Finnish language has to be assessed in the context of political turmoil and language-related tensions. In 1809, Finland passed from Sweden to Russia to become a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. This political change did not remove the borders between Russia and Finland, but it changed these borders, making mobility between them more possible as parts of the large geographic and political entity. Finns, regardless of their mother tongue and language skills, had to relate themselves to the Swedish-speaking elite and the new Russian-speaking administration. Lönnrot's epic project was developed in a Finland that was part of the Russian Empire, and thus discussions with the Russian-speaking intelligentsia and in Russian-language discourse present a crucial counterpoint to discourses in Swedish and Finnish.

Lönnrot's primary goal in creating the *Kalevala* was to establish and reinforce Finnish language, literature, and culture, as distinct from Swedish and Russian (see, e.g., Saarelainen 2015, 137–38; Sulkunen 2004, 26–28). Within the environment of Romantic Nationalism, Lönnrot was also in active communication with

Russian scholars. Among these scholars was the famous Russian philologist, Jakov Grot, a Swedish Russian from Saint Petersburg, who was the professor of Russian language, literature, and history at the University of Helsinki from 1841 to 1852. Grot's writings were instrumental to the enthusiastic reception in Russia, especially in Saint Petersburg, of the publication of the *Old Kalevala*.

In 1840, Grot published the long article "About Finns and Their Folk Poetry" in the famous literary journal *Sovremennik* (Contemporary), established by Aleksander Pushkin. In this article, Grot presents an overview of the Finnish people, their nature and national character, their habits and customs, the Finnish language, and their glorious folk poetry. He also presents a quite detailed summary of the plot of the *Old Kalevala* and praises Lönnrot as the discoverer and collector of the epic. Grot observes that the main and perhaps the only monument of the ancient identity of the Finns is their songs and the "wonderful language of these poems, so close to nature, which are often so precious, springing from the depths of the soul" (Grot [1840] 1898, 109). Claims such as this fully conform to the romantic ideas of epic poetry as the voice of the folk. Within a footnote of this work, Grot reveals that he has accepted the view of Russian Karelians as belonging to a unified linguistic and cultural group of "Finns," and thus the folk of Russian Karelia were the folk of the Finns of Finland:

It is known that in Olonetz and Archangel Governorate the majority of the population are Finns. It is worth mentioning that it was especially there that Lönnrot found poems for the *Kalevala*. [. . .] The language used by these Finns is similar to that spoken in eastern parts of Finland with only minor exceptions. (Grot [1840] 1898, 124–25)

Grot's article is written mostly on the basis of Elias Lönnrot's and J. L. Runeberg's writings, and it includes translations of long quotations, for example, about the language of the folk poems. When Grot moved to Finland in order to be a professor at the University of Helsinki, he befriended Lönnrot and became an enthusiast of Finnish folklore and contemporary literature. Later on, Grot returned to Saint Petersburg and was elected vice president of the Russian Academy of Science. When in that position, he actively promoted and popularized Finnish folklore and the *Kalevala*.

The first Russian translation of the *Kalevala*, by Leonid Petrovic Belsky, appeared late, in 1888, after Lönnrot's death. However, the Russian intelligentsia was already acquainted with the *Kalevala* through its German and French translations. The first complete German translation was made by the German Russian Franz Anton Schiefner in Saint Petersburg in 1852. Lönnrot and his scholarly work were also recognized in Russia: in an article published in honor of Lönnrot's eightieth birthday, he was called "the Finnish Homer" (Jakubov 1882), and, in 1876, he was elected as an honorary member of the Russian Academy of Science in Saint Petersburg.

The Russian translation of the *Kalevala* was long in coming, owing to the fact that L. P. Belsky did not initially know Finnish: he learned it for the sake of the translation, also learning the poetic language and dialectal vocabulary as part of this process. Belsky wished to translate the *Kalevala* in order to fill a gap in Russian literature that did not have an available translation of such an important work of world folk literature (1888, 614). In the preface to the translation, Belsky also compares Lönnrot to Homer (1888, 5). He presents the *Kalevala* and its mythology in the context of other epics and mythologies of the world, stressing that the *Kalevala*'s greatest significance is in bringing together the epic stories of heroes with a cosmogony from primal elements (1888, 5–13). He followed his translation with a discussion of the challenges of translation, in which he addresses the question of what kind of language is the most appropriate for translating a folk epic. In that discussion, he expresses the view that the language of Russian folklore was not suitable for translating the *Kalevala* because it is the idiom of another nation and would not accurately represent the meanings of the Finnish poetry (Belsky 1888, 611–14). Belsky's discussion is embedded in an ideology of the language of the folk that does not waver even though he also translates parts of Lönnrot's preface to the *Kalevala* in which Lönnrot describes how he constructed his epic from the oral poetry. Belsky clearly subscribes to the ideology of "one nation, one language," a theme we will discuss later in detail (P. Anttonen 2005, 157–58; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, 194–95).

Publications by Grot and Belsky were prominent and authoritative in Russian discussions of the *Kalevala*, but alongside such formalized works there were also ongoing discussions in more popular Russian-language venues in Finland. *Finljandskaja Gazeta* (Finland's newspaper) was the official newspaper of the Russian government in the Grand Duchy of Finland, and it was distributed

for free to all Russian administrative officials working in Finland. It was established by Governor-General Nikolai Bobrikov in 1900 and ran until Finland's independence in 1917. The aim of this paper was to bring Finnish and Russian peoples closer together, but it was also intended to facilitate the administrative incorporation of Finland into Russia. It provided a venue for lively discussions of Finland's political and cultural life, and it offered overviews of contemporary discussions and news translated from Swedish and Finnish for the Russian-speaking population of Finland.

Across the years of its publication, contributions to this paper praised and celebrated Lönnrot and the *Kalevala*. When a statue of Lönnrot was erected in Helsinki in 1902, *Finljandskaja Gazeta* published an article that presented Lönnrot from an interesting angle, emphasizing his relationship to Grot, who reportedly called Elias Lönnrot "Ilya Ivanovich" and was said to eulogize him and his work on every possible occasion. The article reviewed Grot's writings about the *Kalevala* and its significance (*Finljandskaja Gazeta*, October 21, 1902, 2). On the other hand, the paper also reported disputes surrounding the *Kalevala*, presenting both sides of the discussions, such as whether the *Kalevala* was a true folk epic or exclusively written by Lönnrot. The political charge of these discussions is evident. The editors expressed their opinion regarding the epic's authenticity:

In the eyes of a Russian reader, the *Kalevala* does not lose its poetic significance because it appears not to be a folk epic but Lönnrot's creation. However, to characterize local politicians of the Swedish party, their attempts to destroy this poem are significant. When they wanted to establish a deep rift between Russians and Finns, they elevated the *Kalevala* as a pearl of creation: *Look, Finns! Here is your folk epic, equal to our Edda! You surpassed the Russians! Don't pay attention to them; follow us, the representatives of sophisticated Western Europe!* But when it appeared that the Finnish population believed the Swedish Sirens less than traveling Russian merchants, they say: *Don't think too highly of yourselves. You are not sophisticated. You don't even have your own epic. Your Kalevala is created by Lönnrot, whose last name immediately reveals that he is a Swede.* Anyway, it is very meaningful that the folk poems of the Finnish tribe were best preserved where the branches of this tribe, Karelians and Estonians, have long been living

under Russian rule. This means that Russia did not erase, did not destroy the tribal authenticity of Russia's own Finns, like the Swedes succeeded in doing in the former Swedish but currently in—luckily for it—Russian Finland. (*Finljandskaja Gazeta*, June 29, 1901, 3; emphasis added)

This is an illustrative example of the ways in which not only the Finnish and the Swedish elite but also Russian authorities and journalists capitalized on the *Kalevala* as a political tool or lever. Participants in this Russian-language discourse went so far as to claim that the *Kalevala* could only be discovered and collected under Russian governance and would never have been possible under Swedish rule.

Quite different perspectives also emerged in these discussions. A journalist of *Finljandskaja Gazeta* found in the archive of K. I. Jakubov, a late Russian teacher of a gymnasium in Helsinki, a short anonymous article manuscript dated around 1892. The manuscript was entitled “A Letter from Finland” and signed “A Karelian of Russia” (*Finljandskaja Gazeta*, December 30, 1902, 2). The article was probably intended for the paper *Moskovskie Vedomosti* (Moscow News), and thus for a broad audience of the Russian Empire. *Finljandskaja Gazeta* published a Russian translation of this article without commentary. The article criticizes the designation of the *Kalevala* as a national treasure of Finland and as a folk epic of the Finnish people. According to the author, the Finnishness of the *Kalevala* is, for the Finnish folk, beyond question, and if someone were to say that Russian Karelians were participating in the creation of the *Kalevala*, people in Finland would consider it completely absurd. The author reminds his reader that the poems of the *Kalevala* were collected in Russian Karelia and they are “the property of Russian Karelians,” and observes that the many translations of the *Kalevala* into different languages never mention its “real origin”:

This kind of appropriation of someone else's property went undiscovered for many decades, probably because the Karelians of Russia did not even notice what kind of treasure was dragged from them across the border. They couldn't understand the greatness and significance of this treasure and therefore didn't think to claim their rights to this property. (*Finljandskaja Gazeta*, December 30, 1902, 2)

This article reveals that the construction of ethnic and national identity and Finnishness was not without controversy. The anonymous author asserts that if the epic is accepted as Finnish, then the original “authors” of the epic, Karelians of Russia, should be considered Finns. Otherwise, he claims that the *Kalevala* should be returned to its original owners and Finland should announce to the world that this epic does not belong to the Finnish people. These accusations of cultural appropriation against Finns and the Finnish nation contest and challenge the general view presented in Russian newspapers across the years. The dominant discourse confirmed and legitimized the ideological notion of the *Kalevala* as the core of an authentic, ancient Finnish heritage. For these newspapers, the *Kalevala* was an emblem of unified cultural identity.

Lönnrot was very open concerning his methods and about the collection of materials from Russian Karelia, but the perception of his work was carried beyond these claims through the ideology of Romanticism. Lönnrot himself participated in this process through advancing his own views that also successfully penetrated into Russian-language discussions, both through personal contacts as with Grot and also more generally through such venues as *Finlåndskaja Gazeta*. Beginning with scholarship in the Soviet era, the *Kalevala* ceased being viewed as purely a Finnish epic and is instead addressed as Karelo-Finnish, acknowledging both Karelian and Finnish contributions to the poems (see, e.g., Kagarov 1940, iv–xlii).

Lönnrot and the Standard Language

In this section we will look behind the reception of the *Kalevala* in the context of the Kalevalaic ideology presented above. We will analyze Lönnrot’s notions on Finnish language, especially in relation to the ideology of Finnishness, which is understood here as an inherent presumption of understanding Finnishness as a natural, monolingual, and culturally homogeneous entity, or in other words, the ideology of “one nation, one language” (P. Anttonen 2005, 157–58; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, 194–95; Karkama 2001, 146–71).¹⁰ According to the latest research,

10 The Finnish “Yksi kansa, yksi kieli” can be translated as “One nation, one language” or “One people, one language,” but, as Pertti Anttonen (2005, 157) has noted, in this context also ‘people’ implies (potential) nationhood. Zacharias Topelius, the author of *Maamme kirja* (1876; The book of our land), which actually mediated the contents and evaluations of the *Kalevala* to the wider public, advocated the ideology of “one nation, two languages,” that is, one Finland and Finnish people with Finnish and Swedish as spoken languages. The third language ideology is the Svecoman “Kaksi kansaa, kaksi kieltä” (“Two peoples, two

Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala* should be seen as a nationalistic hybrid of history writing, future-building, ethnographic description, and language standardization (Saarelainen 2015). Lönnrot's hybrid and intertwined aims are clearly present in his numerous writings and can be found throughout his texts. He wrote as early as 1831 in the foreword of the *Kantele*¹¹ that his goal was to make the Finnish nation appreciate their poetry:

My aim in publishing these Finnish Poems is fair: first of all, I would like the people in common, after having seen that their poems are more valuable than they themselves have used to think, would not, as they have until now, abandon them, or replace them with songs of a Swedish kind; second, I hope that they will not only bring benefit and profit to the Finnish language, but also some sort of additional information on the bygone days of our ancestors.¹²

What did Lönnrot mean when he mentioned “benefit and profit” to the Finnish language? One of Lönnrot's main aims was to give a new perspective on standard Finnish language. To him, folk poetry was a fruitful source for creating a new, modern Finnish, since historical and written sources in Finnish were few. As Saarelainen (2015) notes, folk poetry was considered a nostalgic memory of the past, but at the same time it provided a source for belief in the Finnish future (136). Concretely, folk poetry could be used in this process by adding the poetry's Eastern dialect words and forms in a literary work (Punntila and Issakainen 2003, 227). Before this, the impact of Western Finnish on literary Finnish had been strong, but in the process of making the language suitable for all classes and parts of society, that is, matching the homogenous nationhood, literary Finnish had to be enriched with vocabulary,

languages”), without an intended plea for two separate nations (see P. Anttonen 2008, 219–23; Mikkola 2008, 180–81).

11 The *Kantele* is a series of small-scale folk-poetry anthologies, edited and published by Lönnrot between 1829 and 1831 (see Honko 1990b, 197–98).

12 Aikomuksen näiden Suomalaisten Runoin julistamisella on kohtalainen: ensiksi soisin, että yhteinen kansa, nähtyänsä heidän runonsa olevan suuremmasta arvosta, kuin he ite niitä ovat tottuneet pitämään, ei enää kuin tähän asti on tapahtunna, heittäisi niitä, tahi vaihettaisi Ruotille murtaviin lauluiin; toiseksi toivoisin niistä ei ainoastansa jotain voittoa ja etua Suomen kielelle, vaan myöskin jonkunlaista tiedonlisäntöä esivanhempaimme menneistä ajoista [. . .] (Lönnrot [1829a] 1993, 165).

structures, and expressions of Eastern dialects (Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara 2011, 67).

The aim of creating a standard language was one of the most influential ways of the time to put nationalism into practice (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Milroy 2007, 134, 138; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, 60–61), and Lönnrot's contribution was prominent in this work in Finland. As Saari (2012) puts it, “since he was highly respected by his contemporaries, he had a great impact as a standardizer of the phonology and morphology of literary Finnish” (188). Thus, as a member of the higher social class, Lönnrot was one of the few persons in nineteenth-century Finland who had the authority to impose the rules of language, to be a part of the standardization process: the linguistic forms he used had higher prestige since speakers tend to confer higher prestige on usages that are considered to be those of the elite (Milroy 2007, 134–37). His usage of the Eastern words and forms legitimized them, made them visible and acceptable in contrast to earlier notions about them—especially Karelian words and forms—as vulgar, barbaric, and uncivilized (cf. Harle and Moisio 2000, 108–9; Sihvo 1973, 16, 25).

Lönnrot introduced his principles of textualization very carefully in the foreword of the *New Kalevala*. He explained how he balanced between standard Finnish and vernacular, but the standard Finnish was preferred at the expense of Eastern forms:

On the spelling of language. In the present edition the spelling has been, when possible, adjusted to ordinary standard language and common grammar. For this reason we will find in writing the forms: *osoittaa* (point at), *tavoittaa* (reach out), *milloin* (when) [. . .], instead of the earlier, Karelian-dialect spellings *osottaa*, *tavottaa*, *millon* [. . .]. If the spelling has not been adjusted to common standard language, it ought to be easily understood as it is.¹³

The idea of an “ordinary” and “common” standard Finnish can be described as an ideology of standard language—with the concept of standard treated here more as a process of making language accessible than as an empirical linguistic fact (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, 64). During the nineteenth century, the process of language standardization led to a situation in which Finnish

13 Kielen kirjoitustavasta. Kirjoitustapaa nykyisessä laitoksessa on mahdollisuutta myöten mukailtu tavalliseen kirjakielen ja yhteiseen kielenopin johtoihin.

was increasingly used in schools and bureaucratic contexts, while the status of Swedish became weaker (Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara 2011, 67). Lönnrot and the Finnish Literature Society were the central agents in developing the Finnish language for these purposes. The creation of a standard language also implied translation and production of literature of a pragmatic kind, such as dictionaries, floras, medical guides, and law books. These foreign resources had to be “domesticated” in order to keep the Finnish language pure from Swedish and other foreign influences, or “alienisms” (*muukalaisuus*) as phrased by Lönnrot (Koskinen 1878, 283–84; Lönnrot 1844, 159–60).

The hybrid language created by Lönnrot for his folk poetry compilations became the new standard for teaching the Finnish language at school. Even the largely Swedish-speaking intelligentsia sought to familiarize themselves with the Finnish by reading the *Kalevala*. However, even a tentative understanding of the *Kalevala* was a challenge for the educated people familiar with a standard language based on Western dialects (Anttila 1985, 178–80; Häggman 2012, 132). Volmar Schildt, a reformer of the Finnish language and creator of neologisms, confessed in his correspondence with Lönnrot: “I am almost playing blind man’s bluff with these poems, often just making guesses at the meanings intended by the minstrel, never fully understanding them” (SKS KIA Schildt 1845). When the sourcebooks for the literary “fancy master’s Finnish” (*hieno maisterinsuomi*) were the *Kalevala* and the grammar book, the rural population had difficulties in understanding the gentleman’s attempts at communication, for example, while collecting folklore (Laitinen and Mikkola 2013, 435).

In public schools, the *Kalevala* was read beginning in 1843, when the Finnish language became a subject in the curriculum. The epic was not only considered an appropriate guide to language acquisition, but also a means for the upbringing of a new generation of Finns (Fewster 2008, 200). In the words of J. G. Linsén, “Let the youth learn early on the songs that sounded from our forefathers’ lips. Let public schools be born in Finland, let the youth be educated in them also by reading the *Kalevala*” (SKS KIA 1836, §1). Linsén’s words bear an intertextual relation to the framing lines of the *Kalevala*, in which the book addresses or dedicates itself

Siitä syystä tavataan nyt kirjoitettuna: osoittaa, tavoittaa, milloin [. . .], jossa entisen, Karjalan-murteenen, kirjoitustavan mukaan oli: osottaa, tavottaa, millon [. . .]. Mikäli kirjoitustapaa ei ole yhteiseen kirjakieleen sovitettu, ymmärtäneen sen huokeasti sillänsäki (Lönnrot [1849a] 1993, 413–14).

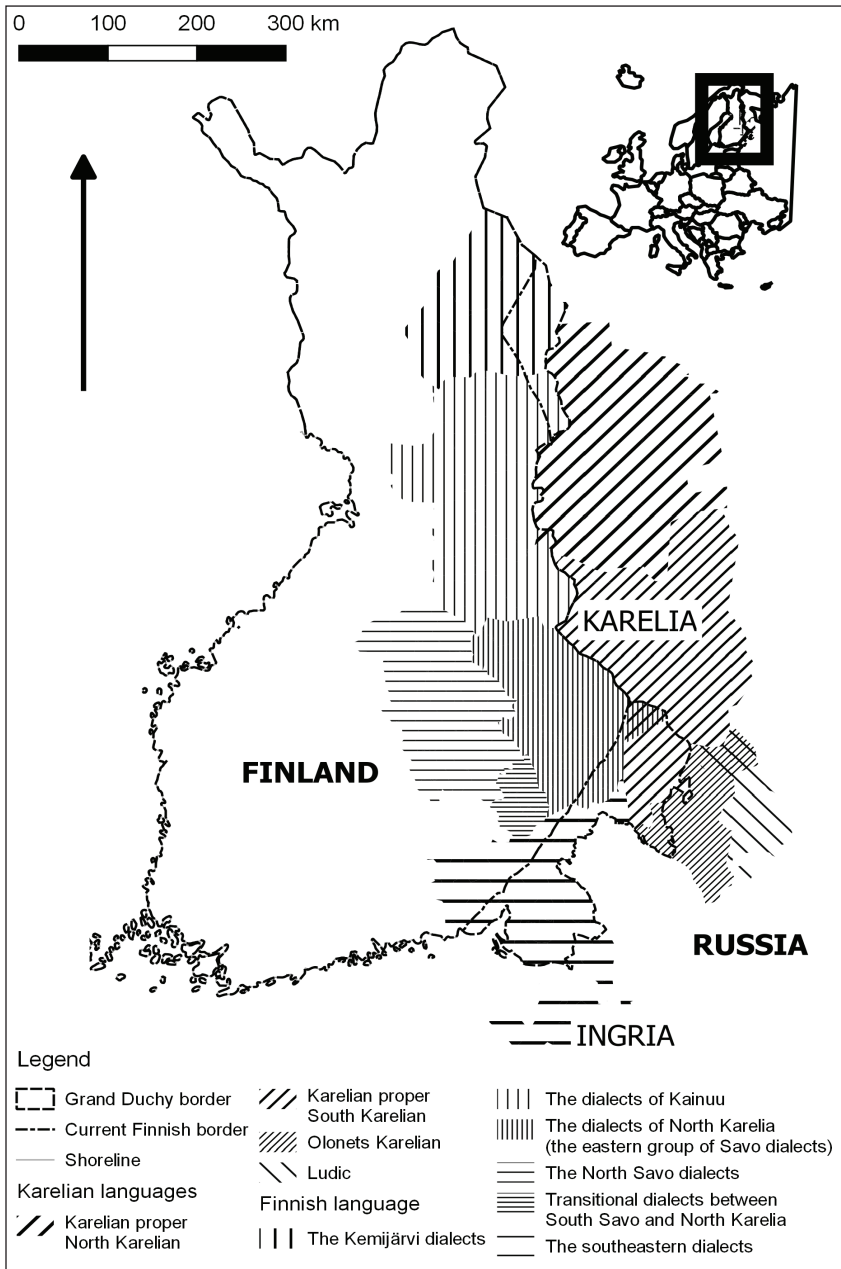


Figure 1. Map of Finnish and Karelian language dialects. Finnish borders in 1860 according to Col. Georg Alftan marked with dotted line, current border with bold line. Sources: Institute for the Languages of Finland, www.vanhakartta.fi (Heikki Rantatupa, University of Jyväskylä), 2017, modified from source. Samppa Mäkelä 2017. CC-BY-SA 4.0.

to “the upcoming youth, the growing people,” who are obliged to listen to the tale sung by their forefathers and to continue singing (Lönnrot [1835] 1993, 190, 315). The bond between the ancient, epic timeframe and the future generations was to be continuous.

Although the *Kalevala* was used to promote the Finnish language, most Swedish-speaking people only read it in Swedish translations. The first translations of separate poems from the *Kalevala* appeared in the newspaper *Helsingfors Morgonbladet* even before the first edition of the *Kalevala* was for sale—the translator was Lönnrot himself (Aarnipuu 2012, 85). These very fragments created the anticipatory mood and preconception of a national epic. A year later, the same newspaper published artistically ambitious translations by J. L. Runeberg, the Swedish-speaking national poet of Finland (85–86). The first complete and verbatim translation into Swedish was accomplished by Lönnrot’s close collaborator C. N. Keckman, who, in 1836, produced the unpublished translation for the purpose of university lecturing (86–88). In its totality, the first edition of the *Kalevala*, now known as the *Old Kalevala*, appeared for the reading, Swedish-speaking public in 1841, as the translation of M. A. Castrén (88).

As Pertti Anttonen (2005, 166–67) notes, the *Kalevala* became, rather ironically, one of the reasons why standard Finnish overcame the role of the Swedish language, despite the fact that the Swedish-speaking elite—Lönnrot himself among them¹⁴—was the original agent of Finnish nation-building. This is a ponderable example of the consequences of language standardization: as Milroy (2001) puts it, “many (historians of language in particular) have treated standardization as though its primary goal was literary—to make great literature available to a wide reading public. In the present account, this is not what we assume. The immediate goals of the process are not literary, but economic, commercial and political” (534–35; cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003). As both Linsén and Lönnrot formulated it, the epic was a “possession,” a resource for the “benefit and profit” of the nation. Literariness and literature do not exist in a vacuum: the creation, production, and reception of the literature of any genre and in any language setting is entangled in processes and hierarchies of power and the distribution of scarce resources.

It is often noted that the ideology of standard language leads to a situation where its most salient feature is the suppression of

14 Elias Lönnrot’s mother tongue was Finnish but he learned Swedish in early childhood—albeit with difficulty (Anttila 1985, 40–41).

variation of all kinds (Lippi-Green 1994, 166). The “one nation, one language” ideology required suppression of the Swedish and Russian languages in a country that was actually multilingual and socially stratified, with Finnish, Swedish, and Russian as the major languages closely connected to social class. The ideology also required standardization inside the field of Finnish dialects, accents, and variation. Lönnrot, paradoxically, justified the use of Eastern, especially Karelian, words and forms as a part of standard Finnish, but at the same time the justification suppressed the role of the Karelian language itself, even though it did not exist as a construction of “language” in a sense the word is understood today. He wrote in the foreword of the *Kalevala*:

The language of these Poems is ordinary Karelian Finnish and does not differ much from the speech of other Finnish provinces. For this reason, a Finn anywhere at all will, with a little practice, understand them easily.¹⁵

The Karelian language, spoken in Finland and Russia, is the closest linguistic relative to Finnish and must not be mixed up with the Karelian (southeastern) dialects of Finnish (Institute for the Languages of Finland). In Finnish Karelia, the spoken variety is often referred to as North Karelian dialects or the eastern group of Savo dialects and the transitional dialects between the southeastern group and South Savo (Karjala). The Karelian language speakers instead lived, during Lönnrot’s times, in small villages in the northern parts of Finnish Karelia, as well as in Russian Karelia near the border of the Grand Duchy of Finland (Karjala; see map above).

However, the poems that Lönnrot published in the *Kalevala* were both from the Karelian-dialect and Karelian-language areas (Lönnrot [1849a] 1993, 409–10),¹⁶ but as it can be seen in the previous quote, these both merged into the category of “ordinary Karelian Finnish.” The process of merger or translation had already

15 Kielenlaatu näissä runoissa on Karjalan tavallista suomea, eikä paljo poikkeava muidenki Suomen maakuntain puheesta, jonka tähden Suomalainen mistä tahansa vähällä tottumisella ne helposti ymmärtää (Lönnrot [1849a] 1993, 412; translated by Magoun [Lönnrot 1963, 379]).

16 Lönnrot mentions pedantically the places he visited during his field trips before the first and second editions of the *Kalevala*. The North Karelian dialect parishes are Kitee, Kesälahti, Tohmajärvi, Ilomantsi, Pielinen, Kajaani, Kuhmo and Suomussalmi, whereas the Karelian language areas are Vuokkiniemi, Paanajärvi, Repola, Kianta, and Kuhmo (Lönnrot [1849a] 1993, 409–10; see also <http://neba.finlit.fi/kalevala/kuvat/picture.php?picture=kartta1.jpg&caption=Elias%20>

started when Lönnrot made his field notes and transcriptions. As Saarinen (2013) has shown, Lönnrot either did not aim at verbatim transliteration or was incapable of accomplishing it: he molded the sung version into a written text that was understandable for him and for the intended audience. Lönnrot's decision to "translate" the poems was evident already in 1829, when he wrote that the poems should be made available for "Finns of most regions"—although "[t]he linguist engaged in the study of Finnish dialects may have much to say against this procedure." The poems were not the linguists' "private affair," but "a sacred legacy handed down to us, like the kantele, by our forefathers." The poems, wrote Lönnrot, "must, if possible, be made generally comprehensible" (Lönnrot [1829b] 1993, 170; translated in Honko 1990b, 209).

As Harle and Moisio (2000, 108–11) note, Karelia's role changed in public discourses in Finland during the nineteenth century. In the beginning of the century, Karelia and Karelians were regarded as primitive, pagan, even "untidy" and "dishonest," but after the publication of the *Kalevala* the discourse seems to change its direction. Within the Karelianist movement, Karelia became a "lost world," a place of nostalgia, where the "authentic" origin of Finnish culture, history, and poetry existed (see also P. Anttonen 2005, 138–43, 172; Sihvo 1973; Tarkka 1989). Within the frame of the archaicizing ideology of the Kalevalaic, Karelians were given a role in representing Finnish antiquity, but they were still others, different from the "modern" Finns since they had stayed at "the primitive stage" (P. Anttonen 2005, 172; Tarkka 1989). For Lönnrot, this "primitive stage" was necessary since this stage had conserved the Finnish language and kept it in its "original form":

In these poems one meets the Finnish language and Finnish poetics in perhaps a purer form than in any other book. Many words and phrases appear here and there in their original form or in the same form as one hears them in the mouth of the peasantry. Persons learned in other languages, even though they of course command Finnish, often find it hard not to change the basic nature of the language to conform with other languages. For the peasant population, however, which understands nothing but its mother tongue, this danger is nonexistent.¹⁷

Lönnrotin%20keruumatkojen%20kartta).

17 Suomen kieli ja runo näissä ehkä tavataan selvempänä, kuin missänä muussa

The idea of primitiveness and “originality” of the peasant population in the Karelian area gives an interesting perspective on Lönnrot’s writings on language: for him, originality meant “sacredness” as well.

The Sacredness of Language

Sacredness could be found especially in the poetry of the folk, and, therefore, Lönnrot made a distinction between the Finnish language and the runo language itself. The poetry as an organic entity seemed to represent the Finnish language and provided a source for making a Finnish history and future. The runo language as a metrically structured and sung phenomenon was, however, something more than “ordinary language.” Lönnrot describes this in his famous opening of the foreword of the *Kanteletar*:

Play and song are for man as if another, more sacred language, with which to tell himself or others about his multifarious desires and thoughts; with which to express better than this ordinary, everyday language, his joy and delight, his sorrow and his worry, his happiness and contentment, hope and yearning, his rest, peace, and constitution.¹⁸

Echoing the romanticist notion of poetry as an outlet of emotion, Lönnrot describes singing as “another, more sacred language” that is best suited for the announcement of specific feelings and also the human condition (*olento*) as a whole. According to Lönnrot, the act of singing invokes the sacred features of language, and the singing voice is closer to the inner thoughts. In nineteenth-century Karelian contexts, the runo language was a way to create identities and enhance awareness of self, community, culture, and one’s place in the world. Sacredness as an attribute of this sung language refers to the fundamental values of the community, which the functions

kirjassa. Monet sanat ja sanan-parret tulevat tuo tuostaki ilmi alkuluonnossaan eli samalla kannalla, kun niitä rahvaan suusta kuullaan. Muien kielten oppineilla, vaikka kyllä Suomeaki taitavilla, on usiasti vaikea estää kieltä omaluonnostaan toisten mukaseksi vääntymästä, mutta talonpoikasella kansalla, joka muuta ei ymmärrä kun yhtä äitinsä kieltä, siitä ei tule pelkoa (Lönnrot [1835] 1993, 180; translated by Magoun [Lönnrot 1963, 373]).

18 Soitto ja laulu ihmisellä ovat ikäskun toinen pyhempi kieli, jolla itsellensä eli muille haastelee erinäisiä halujansa ja mielensä vaikutuksia; jolla paremmin, kun tällä tavallisella, jokapäiväisellä kielellä, ilmottaa ilonsa ja riemunsa, surunsa ja huolensa, onnensa ja tyytyväisyytensä, toivonsa ja kaipuunsa, leponsa, rauhansa ja muun olentonsa (Lönnrot [1840] 1997, i).

and the content of the songs represented. However, sacredness made the runo language something Other as well—its connections to the mythic history made it strange and difficult to control. The runo language included many archaisms, formulas, and symbols that were not clear even to the nineteenth-century singers themselves (Tarkka 2005, 328–35; 2016).

Lönnrot's notion of poetry and song as a sacred language amounts not only to a language ideology; it presents a philosophy of language with a psychological and mythic dimension. A language such as this is the prime vehicle for expressing “things of the mind and thought,” yet it is for Lönnrot, like any language put into use by humans, incomplete: it seldom expresses all that is intended. The sacred language had evolved gradually from “voiced humming” (*äänellinen hyminä*) into genres of song and poetry (Lönnrot [1840] 1997, i–ii.), and it was the lyric, not the nationally significant epic, that was the oldest form of poetry. In terms of human expression, then, the mythically and societally resonant epic was not the most authentic. Still, Finnish runo songs were, as a whole, more authentic than their Swedish and Russian counterparts (Lönnrot [1840] 1997, xliii). This notion of the natural, unspoiled character of the Finnish language was articulated repeatedly in the later commentaries and school teaching of the *Kalevala* (Mikkola 2008, 180–81). Within such romanticizing discourses, the natural did not mean something that could be taken for granted: the label of natural was an attribution of value and a claim of legitimacy (see also Bendix 1997, 38–39).

Lönnrot had adopted the modern and protestant idea of language as a transparent system with which one is able to faithfully reveal one's innermost truth (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003, 59–69; Wilce 2009, 157), but instead of using this idea in the context of standard Finnish, he added it to the runo language. This feature of the runo language becomes tangible and present also in Lönnrot's time through the practice of singing: “It is mostly in the Finnish Karelia where these songs are nowadays sung” (Lönnrot [1840] 1997, iv).

For Lönnrot, who had seen the runo language's life and circulation in the Karelian communities, the power and the recognized otherness of the sung language was an important feature: sacredness as an attribute of the language was in Lönnrot's writings intertwined with the origin of the Finnish nation and its mythic history. Later in the foreword of the *Kanteletar*, the connection between the “ordinary” Finnish language and the “sacred” runo

language is made clear: the latter makes the former special, prominent, and superior to many other languages. Sacredness was one of the attributions of the “primary condition” of Finnishness and the Finnish language as well. With this attribute, Lönnrot was able to speak about the value, inviolability, and integrity of the borders with which Finnishness was conformed to a specific being with a substance (cf. V. Anttonen 1993, 34). The attribute of “sacred” implied also an obligation. As formulated in the seal of the Finnish Literature Society, the institutional frame of Lönnrot’s literary activities, the future generations were obliged to keep the values of their ancestors: “Stay sacred in Finland” (pysy Suomessa pyhänä).

Conclusion

In this article, the notion of an authentic, archaic, and Finnish epic that spoke and stood for a homogenous people has been discussed as an ideology of the Kalevalaic. As the language that the singers of these poems were supposed to speak, Finnish was strongly symbolized and given a mythological charter: it was the language encapsulating ancestral heritage, and it was the language that the Finns were obliged to develop, learn, and teach. Although sacred and mythicized, the language was also common and routinized—if not for the nation, at least for the folk. For the needs of the nation, the language had to be refined and homogenized, made into a standard language. This standard form was usable for administrative and educational purposes—and this was crucial in the political situation during the time of the Grand Duchy of Finland. The notion of the *Kalevala*’s Finnishness was equally acknowledged in Finnish and Russian academic discourses and Lönnrot was eulogized as the cultural hero of Finnish literature, language, and cultural life. In this process the Karelian language and culture were implicitly absorbed into Finnish cultural heritage but not recognized and valued as coeval cultural realities: in both Finnish and Russian discourses, Karelia represented the past of the present-day Finnishness, but not the present day of Karelianness.

The ideology of the Kalevalaic served the creation of an identity based on common culture, ancestry, language, and history. Finnishness was conceived relationally as something neither Swedish nor Russian—cultural or linguistic identity and ideals were defined against elements defined as “alien” (*muukalainen*). Alterity could also be used as a positive value in the construction of identity. Etymologically, the word for ancient (*muinainen*) has its origins in the word meaning “alien” or “other” (*muu*) (Fewster 2006, 98).

This historical alterity of the past and ancestry was something to be cherished and something that obliged also the future generations. Traditions of song and poetry as well as linguistic practices were to be carried on and renewed. This was the only way to the future and to mature nationhood.

For Finns, the language was to nourish artistic expression and lend Finnish high culture an essence of its own, to create a natural yet noble literary language. The project of articulating all these facets of the Finnish language was, for Lönnrot, an organic part of making and framing the epic *Kalevala* and its lyrical twin anthology, the *Kanteletar*. Editing and recontextualizing oral poetry encapsulates a specific language ideology. This ideology was put into practice in subtle editorial decisions by Lönnrot and surprisingly in the reception of the epic on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border. The notions concerning the historical roots of the tradition linked the present-day speakers of the language to the mythic past and enabled an orientation to the future—as one nation with purportedly one language.

Archival Materials

SKS KIA 1836, §1= Johan Gabriel Linsén's speech at the annual meeting of the Finnish Literature Society, March 16, 1836. SKS KIA Protocoller March 16, 1834–March 7, 1838.

SKS KIA Schildt 1845 = Wolmar Schildt-Kilpinen's letter to Elias Lönnrot, October 28, 1845. SKS KIA Collection of Lönnrot's correspondence 6.

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Kalevala Ecology: Bioregional Aesthetics and Sámi Environmental Autonomy

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Abstract

An ecocritical reevaluation of the *Kalevala* and its contexts reveals the merging of nationalist discourses with a broader Finno-Ugric environmental aesthetic tradition in the period leading up to Finnish independence. Although the *Kalevala* and the nationalism it inspired led to oppression of the Sámi minority in northern Finland, analyzing the *Kalevala* as a “bioregional” epic in light of the environmental aesthetics of the Sámi *joik* tradition can potentially heal divisions created by Finnish nationalism.

Keywords: the *Kalevala*, joik, environmental aesthetics, bioregionalism

From National to Bioregional Epic

Discourses celebrating the boreal forest environment of Finland played a central role in the nineteenth-century Romantic Nationalist movement that eventually catalyzed Finland’s independence in 1917. In various works such as Elias Lönnrot’s publication of the *Kalevala* (1835, 1849), Johan Ludvig Runeberg’s 1848 poem “Vårt Land” (“Our Land”), and the symphonic works of Jean Sibelius, Finnish nationalism has typically been defined in terms of the people (*kansalfolk*) and the land (Runeberg [1848] 1960, 17–19). After all, Lönnrot titled his epic after the mythical region of Kalevala—a pristine Nordic landscape, covered in birch and evergreen forests, dotted with lakes, and populated by magic-singing heroes who

interact with a host of nature spirits and sentient animals—a land functioning as a metonym for Finland itself.

Some scholars have argued that the *Kalevala* will always be a symbol of Finnish culture and identity, whereas others have emphasized its continental European influences and universal elements that place it in the canon of world literature (Anttonen 2009, 95–97). But a more recent development in literary studies—the field of ecocriticism—can help illuminate the underlying narratives and political implications of nineteenth-century Finnish discourses related to the environment. In modern ecocritical theory, philosophers and literary critics have employed the concept of “human-animality intertwining,” originating in the mid-twentieth-century philosophical work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, to describe the notion that humans, nonhuman animals, and the totality of the natural environment are enmeshed in a non-hierarchical system of interdependent relationships (Westling 2014, 26–27, 42–43). Merleau-Ponty’s key statements on phenomenology, embodied human experience, and the philosophical implications of modern biological research appear in works such as *Phenomenology of Perception* (published in French in 1945 and in English in 2012), *The Visible and the Invisible* (in French in 1964 and in English in 1968), and *Nature: Course Notes from the Collège de France* (in French in 1994 and in English in 2003).

A second concept is bioregionalism, which asks questions about what it means to be a citizen of a local environmental region. Literary theorists Tom Lynch, Cheryll Glotfelty, and Karla Armbruster (2012) explain that “[b]y foregrounding natural factors as a way to envision place, bioregionalism proposes that human identity may be constituted by our residence in a larger community of natural beings—our local bioregion—rather than, or at least supplementary to, national, state, ethnic, or other common bases of identity” (4). Despite differences in language and culture, people groups living in the same bioregion share a number of unique experiences with the local flora and fauna, and I propose that the *Kalevala* has the potential to generate a sense of bioregional identity for all ethnicities and cultural groups who identify the northern Eurasian bioregion as their home. An ecocritical analysis based on the concepts of human-animality intertwining and bioregional identity also yields a significant reevaluation of what the *Kalevala* has to say about the environmental autonomy of the indigenous Sámi inhabitants of northern Finland.

Finnish folklore scholars such as Lauri Honko (1994), Juha Pentikäinen (2007), and Lotte Tarkka (1998, 2013) have thoroughly studied portrayals of the natural environment in Finnish and Karelian oral folk poetry. Tarkka's extensive research on Karelian folklore also examines the interplay among concepts of gender and the forest environment (1998; 2013, 337–65). Finnish and Karelian folk poems frequently contemplate the interrelationships among humans, animals, and supernatural beings, especially in a forested setting, and these poems form the main substance of over 80 percent of the *Kalevala* itself (Anttonen 2009, 100; Kaukonen 1979, 72). These poems were orally composed in trochaic tetrameter and had been sung for generations by rural communities speaking various dialects of Finnish and Karelian, which are closely related languages forming a dialect continuum. In the early 1800s, scholars such as Elias Lönnrot, a Finnish-speaking medical doctor with a background in the humanities, went on field expeditions throughout eastern Finland and Russian Karelia to collect epic and lyric poetry (Anttila [1935] 1963; Salminen and Tarkiainen [1933] 1963). Inspired by scholars seeking to identify a Finnish *volksgeist* in line with the Romantic Nationalist ideals of Herder and Hegel, Lönnrot compiled, edited, and reordered a sampling of Finnish and Karelian oral songs into a grand epic narrative, published in two editions: the *Old Kalevala* in 1835, and the longer, restructured *New Kalevala* in 1849 (Apo 2003; Branch 1998, 31–32; Pentikäinen 1999, 14–22).

Writing from the perspective of Romantic Nationalism in his preface to the *New Kalevala*, Lönnrot (1963b) idealizes his epic as a portrait of the “oldest specific memories surviving for the Finnish people,” providing “information about the life, customs, and vicissitudes of that time” (374). In his preface to the *Old Kalevala* as well as in numerous passages of both the 1835 and 1849 editions of the epic, Lönnrot (1963b) portrays the magic-singing shaman-figure Väinämöinen as a mostly idealized Finnish hero who in many passages lives in harmonious dialogue with boreal forest creatures (371–72). In analyzing Lönnrot's relationship to Nature Romanticism, Thomas DuBois (1995) argues that Poem 4's poignant depiction of the drowning of Aino resonates with the aesthetic expectations of a contemporary romanticist audience, who would have valued the image of Aino achieving cosmic unity with the divinity of nature, ultimately transforming into a beautiful salmon (263–73; Poem 4: 309–72, Poem 5: 85). The *Kalevala*'s tender portrayals of plants, animals, and other natural features

suggest that an ecological awareness of human-animal-plant relationships is central to Lönnrot's construction of Finnish national identity. With its overt emphasis on environmental aesthetics, the Finnish nationalist independence movement can thus be evaluated as an attempt to justify sovereignty over Finland's cherished natural resources.

Problematically, discourses on nature and Finnish national identity were intertwined in a way that resulted in oppression of the Sámi peoples of Sápmi (the term for Lapland in the Sámi languages). The Sámi peoples, also referred to by the antiquated exonym "Lapps," have been recognized by the European Union as the indigenous inhabitants of northern Scandinavia. Across northern Sweden, Finland, and Norway as well as the Kola Peninsula in Russia, there are approximately 75,000 to 100,000 people who identify themselves as Sámi, and about 50,000 people continue to speak the ten extant Sámi languages, which form a dialect continuum (Kent 2014, 2; Lehtola 2004, 11). Varying definitions have been used to define Sámi identity, which is by no means monolithic, as Sámi communities have evolved and adapted to a variety of cultural and natural environments (Lehtola 2004, 9–15, 88). In Finland today, approximately 7,000 people are identified as Sámis, but fewer than half of them speak the three Sámi languages native to Finland: North Sámi, Inari Sámi, and Skolt Sámi (Kent 2014, 66; Pentikäinen 2000, 136–37).

Pentikäinen holds the *Kalevala* and the nationalism it inspired responsible for discouraging the cultural expression of minorities in Finland, especially Sámi culture (1999, 239–40, 248; 2000, 134). In support of this position, Kaarina Kailo (2001) delivers a scathing critique of Lönnrot's characterization of female Sámi figures, arguing that his portrayals are patriarchal and ethnocentric:

The dominant and most memorable representations of both women and the Sami/Lapps in the epic are linked to images of victimhood or selfishness, greed, and arrogance. Although the southern men of Kalevala are the rapists and murderers, it is the women and the Sami/Lapps, as I will show, who carry the projections of evil-doing. (184)

As Lönnrot structures the plot of his 1849 version of the epic around the conflict between Pohjola ("North Farm"), located in Lapland, and Kalevala ("Kaleva Farm"), located to the south, presumably somewhere in Karelia or Finland, Kailo (2001)

points out evidence that Finnish readers have often interpreted Louhi, the matriarch of Pohjola, to be Sámi (201). In a similar vein, Pentikäinen (2000) argues that Lönnrot intended to portray a north-south conflict “between ‘us’ (Finns or Karelians)” and “‘them’ who lived in the Northern Land of Pohjola (i.e., the Lapps)” (134). However, Pentikäinen also clarifies that equating Pohjola with the Sámi people may not have been Lönnrot’s intention, since he explains in his 1849 preface to the *New Kalevala*: “One finds plenty of reason for the notion that by the ‘people of North Farm’ one should understand ‘Lapps’ in these songs; it seems more likely, however, that Lapps did not live at North Farm but Finns of a different tribal group [. . .]” mainly because “the people of North Farm stand out as more powerful than anything that would ever at all be true of Lapps” (Lönnrot 1963b, 378; Pentikäinen 1999, 170–71). Nonetheless, Lönnrot still reveals his ethnocentric biases against the Sámi peoples in his appeal to their alleged primitivism. In contrast to Lönnrot’s view, Norse sagas record Norse kings intermarrying with families of Sámi leadership and even suggest the existence of Sámi “kings,” and thus Sámi groups could have attained more political power in the distant past than Lönnrot acknowledges (Mundal 1996, 110–13).

The main complication for Kailo’s argument is the diversity of scholarly viewpoints on the ambiguous Sámi/Finnish/Karelian/mythical identities of the residents of Pohjola, which Anna-Leena Siikala (2002) has systematically catalogued (155–62). Despite Lönnrot’s doubts on this matter, the presentation of Joukahainen in Poem 3 provides a relatively straightforward statement of his geographical location and ethnicity: “Sai sanomat Pohjolahan. / Olipa nuori Joukahainen, / Laiha poika Lappalainen” (“the news reached the north country. / Joukahainen was young, / a scrawny Lappish lad”) (Lönnrot 1963a, Poem 3: 20–22).¹ It is still conceivable that being *Lappalainen* in Pohjola could refer to a mythical identity representing inhabitants at the edge of the world or even in the abode of the dead (Siikala 2002, 157–62). But nonetheless, any interpretive ambiguity on this matter does little to discount the need to examine the political implications of seeing the residents of Pohjola in the *Kalevala* as possible representations of Sámi people, especially since the language of Poem 3 directly warrants this reading.

1 Quotations are taken from the 1849 edition of the *Kalevala*. English translations are from Francis Peabody Magoun’s 1963 literal prose translation: *The Kalevala: Poems of the Kaleva District*.

Kailo (2001) and Pentikäinen (1999) are therefore justified in pointing out how the *Kalevala*'s North versus South narrative has played into a Finnish nationalist ideology that has undermined Sámi interests. During the Romantic Nationalist period, some Finnish scholars considered the Sámi to possess no epic poetry on par with the *Kalevala*, which supposedly proved Finnish cultural superiority, even though much research has revealed a rich Sámi folklore tradition and the existence of Sámi epic poetry (Pentikäinen 1999, 240, 248; 2000, 134). The strengthening of Finnish nationalism resulted in pressure on Sámi peoples to assimilate into Finnish culture, land encroachment by Finnish settlers, and cumbersome legal restrictions regarding land usage (Lehtola 2004, 36–37, 42–46, 52–53, 62; Turi [1910] 2011, 87). In Lönnrot's own lifetime, the northernmost municipalities of Inari, Enontekiö, and Utsjoki, which had formerly been Sámi majority areas, experienced a major influx of Finnish settlers, who began to outnumber the indigenous population in most of these areas by the end of the nineteenth century (Kent 2014, 29–30). Likewise, the formerly prosperous Kemi Sámi of southern Lapland were almost entirely displaced or assimilated by the turn of the century (2014, 39). After a series of traumatic disruptions to Sámi communal life as a result of the Finnish Civil War and especially the Second World War, the Finnish government expanded educational opportunities for Sámi students, but this campaign of boarding schools ultimately estranged these students from their language and background, and tragically many Sámi rejected their heritage and identified with the values of Finnish nationalism (Kent 2014, 42–64; Lehtola 2004, 62).

In recent decades, political conflicts between Finnish and Sámi interests have centered on the usage of forests and other natural resources (Jaakkola, Heiskanen, Lensu, and Kuitunen 2013; Kumpula and Colpaert 2007; Mustajoki et al. 2011, 1552–53). The potential for conflict is ever present because of the structure of the relationship between the Finnish government and the Sámi Parliament of Finland, which was founded in 1973 to guarantee the Sámi right to self-determination and cultural autonomy (Myntti 2000, 204–9). In assessing the current political situation, Jérémie Gilbert (2014) argues that “even though the establishment of the Saami Parliament allows indigenous peoples to exercise some control in the use of traditional territories, ultimately the Saami do not exercise effective autonomy” (236). For instance, while the Sámi right to usage of traditional lands is currently supported, the Sámi Parliament's right to legal ownership of the land is not recognized,

and although the Finnish government is required to communicate with the indigenous parliament about all land-usage matters, the Sámi Parliament is not granted the power to veto decisions made by the Finnish government (Gilbert 2014, 236; Myntti 2000, 205–11).

As a symbol of Finnish nationalism, the *Kalevala* and its negative portrayal of characters referred to by the terms *Lappi* and *Lappalainen* could justifiably be perceived by Sámi people as stinging reminders of the impact of Finnish migration into Sápmi and harmful policies enacted over time by successive Swedish, Russian, and Finnish governments (Lehtola 2004, 31–32, 36–37). Even though nationalist readings of the epic have contributed to oppression of the Sámi peoples in Finland, I argue that an ecocritical evaluation of the *Kalevala*'s poetic content reveals that such nationalistic oppression completely transgresses the spirit of the *Kalevala*, especially its aesthetic emphasis on the ecological interdependence among plants, humans, nonhuman animals, and other aspects of the environment. The environment portrayed in the *Kalevala* cannot be viewed primarily as the homeland belonging to some essentialized notion of a Finnish ethnic *kansa*, as these beautiful boreal forests are home to a variety of ethnic groups, animals, plants, and, according to Finno-Ugric shamanistic worldviews, nature spirits as well. In addition, the three main peoples represented in the *Kalevala*—the Finns, Karelians, and Sámis—share a common linguistic origin and have interacted in Finland, northern Scandinavia, and northwestern Russia for thousands of years. For example, Ante Aikio's (2012) research indicates that in the Early Iron Age, Proto-Sámi speakers lived throughout southern Finland and Karelia centuries before Finnish speakers migrated to these regions. Neil Kent (2014) reports that Sámi settlements existed as far south as the 62nd parallel in Finland even through the eighth century (21).

Despite the significant cultural differences that existed among them during the nineteenth century in Finland, Finnish, Karelian, and Sámi cultural materials have historically demonstrated reverent attitudes toward the natural world that can be characterized as an ancient mode of human-animality intertwining. Westling (2014) and other ecocritics have explored Merleau-Ponty's concept of human-animality intertwining in both ancient and modern literary sources to examine how different societies have conceived of their relationships to the natural world. The concept of "human-animality intertwining" appears in robust form in the oral poetry of the Finnish, Karelian, and Sámi peoples as well.

Although Sámi oral poetry differs significantly from the Finno-Karelian rune singing that Lönnrot transcribed while compiling the *Kalevala*, the Sámi musical genre of the *joik* provides a fruitful lens for analyzing Lönnrot's epic because of the *joik* tradition's latent embodiment of environmental aesthetic principles. The Sámi *joik* is an ancient form of singing that recalls a person, animal, place, or other experience through poetry, tonality, repeated syllables, and imitative sounds. One classic written description of the Sámi *joik* that is contemporary with the Finnish nationalist movement comes from the earliest non-religious Sámi-language book, Johan Turi's 1910 publication, *Muitalus sámiiid birra* (*An Account of the Sámi*). Having traversed the borders of Finland, Norway, and Sweden during his life as a Sámi hunter and reindeer herder, Turi ([1910] 2011) writes:

Sámi singing is called *joiking*. It is a practice for recalling other people. Some are recalled with hate, and some with love, and some are recalled with sorrow. And sometimes such songs concern lands or animals: the wolf, and the reindeer, or wild reindeer. (161)

DuBois (2011), who is the translator of the passage cited above, argues that Turi's purpose for his publication was to enact a "Sámi way of being" that involves the creation and transmission of Sámi traditional knowledge that "derives from and helps sustain a particular way of life: an evolving set of techniques for herding, hunting, healing, and human relations that Turi saw as critically endangered by the policies and social transformations taking place in early twentieth-century Sápmi" (520). Turi devotes many sections in *An Account of the Sámi* to discussing different Nordic animals that the Sámi traditionally depended on, observed, and hunted. Thus, the Sámi *joik* tradition as well as Turi's work reveal valuable cultural perspectives regarding human-animality intertwining in the land of Sápmi.

Turi's work as well as the *joik* tradition thus can help to flesh out both the natural environment and the ancient aesthetic concepts portrayed within the *Kalevala*. Scholars such as Pentikäinen (1999) have suggested that the Sámi *joik* tradition and Finnish-Karelian rune singing both have origins in shamanistic practices that were common in both cultures (192). Furthermore, anthropological research demonstrates that the ecological concepts portrayed in the *Kalevala* have their roots in the shamanistic worldviews of ancient

Finno-Ugric peoples (Honko 1994; Pentikäinen 2007; Tarkka 1998, 2013). Because of the similarities in the lifestyles and environments that Finns and Sámis shared prior to modern times, the *Kalevala*'s representation of the environment actually undermines the Finnish nationalist project, revealing an ancient area of bioregional common ground shared by the Finnish, Karelian, and Sámi peoples.

Although Lönnrot's compilation of folk poetry is most often described as the national epic of Finland, I would like to advocate reading the *Kalevala* as an environmental, bioregional epic that embodies an ancient mode of sacred human-animality intertwining shared by various Finno-Ugric peoples dwelling in a region defined by lakes, rivers, vast northern forests, and their animal inhabitants. This common bioregional consciousness centered on forest life appears in the folk poetry produced in a variety of Finno-Ugric languages scattered across northern Eurasia, as attested in *The Great Bear: A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugrian Languages* (Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994). Although Sámi *joiks* have been sung to commemorate a diverse array of forest, tundra, and mountainous environments, the historical borders of Sápmi overlap significantly with the same boreal forest biome that stretches eastward to the Ural Mountains where other Finno-Ugric cultures have also existed for millennia. The boreal forests of the Finnish province of Lapland also play a central role in ongoing conflict between Sámi reindeer herders and Finnish logging companies: because packed snow impedes access to ground-based food sources, reindeer depend on healthy forests during the winter in order to graze on lichen growing on the trunks and branches of birch, fir, and pine trees (Jaakkola et al. 2013; Kumpula and Colpaert 2007; Mustajoki et al. 2011).

Despite the *Kalevala*'s negative depictions of the inhabitants of Sápmi/Lapland, there are positive portrayals as well, and an eco-critical analysis of the *Kalevala* ultimately yields significant political implications regarding the autonomy of the Sámi people because of the epic's participation in a broader cultural tradition that reveres the natural environment. If Finns used these kinds of environmentally based discourses to justify a sense of bioregional identity that necessitated autonomy over the natural resources of Finland and therefore independence from Russia, then the implication is that the *Kalevala*'s ecological worldview supports giving increased autonomy to Sámi minority inhabitants of northern Finland in their efforts to preserve the health of Sápmi in an environmentally sustainable fashion, as they have for millennia.

In the following sections, I will relate the ecocritical concepts of human-animality intertwining and bioregionalism to recent research on the Sámi *joik* tradition and to especially exemplary scenes in the *Kalevala* that portray Väinämöinen's role in the ecosystem, Lemminkäinen's spiritual development as a hunter, and the threat of mechanistic technology latent in Lönnrot's version of the Sampo narrative. In particular, the battle for the Sampo reveals anxieties about how reliance on advanced technologies can disrupt humanity's sacred relationship with the environment, leading to division and competition among people groups, ultimately prophesying the tensions that exist today resulting from the economic development of Sápmi.

Human-Animality Intertwining, Bioregional Identity, and *Joik* Aesthetics

Louise Westling's (2014) recent work *The Logos of the Living World* argues for the value of the concept of human-animality intertwining for literary studies. Westling focuses on the philosophy of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who theorized human and animal consciousness by bringing mid-twentieth-century scientific developments into conversation with the phenomenological approach of continental philosophy (Merleau-Ponty [1945] 2012; Westling 2014, 26–29). Westling (2014) summarizes Merleau-Ponty's "philosophy of wild being" as follows: "All organisms exist intertwined and in constant interaction with the flesh of the world around them, which is the wild or brute being in which we are immersed" (26–27). Before modern times, various people groups have traditionally recognized the relationships among humans, nonhuman animals, and the environment. However, as Westling states, "The development of agriculture and urban civilization eroded that sense through a long, gradual process" (49). In European history, dualistic and humanistic schools of thought have tended to place a huge divide between humans and animals, but the *Kalevala* and the Sámi *joik* tradition preserve poetic traditions that portray a world in which people embrace human-animality intertwining as a matter of survival.

The *Kalevala*, the Sámi *joik* tradition, and the poetry of many other Finno-Ugric peoples pay homage to the cognition and subjectivity of animals in a way that anticipates another core part of Merleau-Ponty's philosophy: his linguistic theory, which defines Logos as immanent in the material world ([1964] 1968, 130–55; Westling 2014, 101–3). In other words, Merleau-Ponty employs a non-dualistic ontology to theorize Logos—as speech or reason—to

argue that language and aesthetic experiences occur throughout the flesh of the world itself, thus rejecting the Cartesian definition of language as a unique manifestation of the soul acting upon the body ([1964] 1968, 152–55; [1945] 2012, 38–51, 387–96). Whereas much Western philosophy has emphasized that language and self-consciousness are what make humans unique, Westling (2014) explains that in Merleau-Ponty's linguistic theory, human language "remains embedded within shared abilities and cultures in a continuum of animal behaviors that are themselves part of a myriad of communications in the living world" (103). Building on modern zoological research, Westling states, "We share linguistic and aesthetic relationships with other animals in what Merleau-Ponty calls intertwining or chiasms. Humans have always been involved in cross-species communication and cooperation" (109). A similar understanding of Logos as permeating all forms of life in addition to the natural environment appears throughout the poetry of Finno-Ugric peoples. For example, the trees and animals in the *Kalevala* frequently speak, and even worms, plants, and stones display sublime aesthetic responses to music (41: 1–266, 44: 257–334). In summarizing traditional views of nature in Finno-Ugric hunting cultures, Honko (1994) explains, "As he [the hunter] goes about his work, animals, plants, trees and rocks all possess a character and individuality of their own [. . .]. Animals and the topographical features of the landscape communicate to the experienced hunter promises, warnings and threats" (118). Along similar lines, nearly every chapter in Turi's *An Account of the Sámi* explains how to read the animal behavior and weather patterns in Sápmi, thus providing a compendium of ecological knowledge (DuBois 2011; Turi [1910] 2011). Many Finno-Ugric traditional cultures across northern Eurasia show evidence of conceiving language and reason as immanent in their surroundings—a conception that modern philosophers and scientists are rediscovering but from a different set of ontological assumptions.

Whereas Finno-Ugric traditional worldviews tend to be dualistic, viewing the soul as capable of traveling outside of the body, modern ecocritical theory tends to be ontologically materialistic, even blaming body-soul dualism, particularly the Cartesian formulation, as responsible for Western economies' objectification, commoditization, and exploitation of the earth (Pentikäinen 1999, 196–206; Westling 2014, 2, 13–16). Merleau-Ponty derives his conclusions about human-animality linguistic intertwining from scientific materialism, but the *Kalevala*'s spiritual view of language

arises within a Finno-Ugric shamanistic worldview, where the souls of humans, animals, and even the landscape dialogue with one another (Honko 1994; Pentikäinen 2007, 77–80; Tarkka 1998). Many ecocritics advocate a purely monistic materialism as the philosophical future for conceptualizing human-animal relationships, but the spiritual dimension of ancient northern shamanism led directly to a deep understanding of environmental relationships, thus demonstrating that it is an oversimplification by many ecocritics to blame spirit-matter dualistic ontologies for environmental degradation. Karelian cultures, for instance, maintained a nature-culture dichotomy, and this view coexisted with a reverence for the forest and its inhabitants (Tarkka 1998, 95–96). Finno-Ugric dualisms thus appear to be less hierarchical than the dualisms in the Western metaphysical tradition, which tends to privilege soul over body, male over female, culture over nature, and human over animal, and has systematically marginalized indigenous peoples' ways of knowing and ways of being (Derrida 1982; Kuokkanen 2006, 251–53). Whereas Jacques Derrida critiques dualism in Western metaphysics from Plato to Descartes and beyond, the non-hierarchical quality of Finno-Ugric metaphysics appears to reconcile the extremes of Western dualism and scientific materialism by recognizing both the uniqueness of human spiritual subjectivity and the commonalities among the experiences of humans and nonhuman animals—a philosophy of life equally rooted in spiritual tradition and a phenomenological approach to the construction of knowledge based on lived experience in the natural world.

The dualism of shamanistic ontology may have appealed to Lönnrot, who as a devout Lutheran believed in a soul-body distinction, and at the same time even considered ancient Finnish paganism to be a benign theological precursor to Christianity (Lönnrot 1963b, 372; Pentikäinen 1999, 75–80, 161). In the writings of Martin Luther himself, David Clough (2009) points out that despite the theologian's anthropocentrism, Luther believed that God is present within all creatures and all aspects of creation, and that the "Hebrew word for soul denotes all animal life that lives and breathes," thus considering that even nonhuman animals may possess some kind of spiritual subjectivity (51–53). Furthermore, as a medical doctor who traveled extensively throughout Finland, Lapland, and Karelia, Lönnrot's knowledge of physiology and the local flora and fauna would likely have made him sympathetic to the similarities between humans and animals, even though he was working from a pre-Darwinian understanding of biology (Anttila

[1935] 1963, 342–44). Although there are differences among modern ecocritical theories and the spiritual ontologies of Lönnrot's Lutheranism and Finno-Ugric forms of shamanism, the concept of human-animality intertwining and the broader conception of Logos as immanent in nature are fruitful concepts for describing the aesthetics of the *Kalevala* as well as other forms of Finno-Ugric poetry such as the Sámi *joik* tradition.

Awareness of human-animality intertwining appears in many cultures across the world and throughout history, but the kind of aesthetic intertwining that occurs in the *Kalevala*, the Sámi *joik* tradition, and other expressions of Finno-Ugric poetry has evolved largely within a specific type of boreal forest environment, and thus the unique features of Finno-Ugric environmental aesthetics may be analyzed in light of the ecocritical concept of bioregionalism (Aikio 2012; Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994, 25–29). Robert L. Thayer, Jr. (2003), a landscape architecture theorist, delineates the concept of “bioregion” as a “unique region definable by natural (rather than political) boundaries with a geographic, climatic, hydrological, and ecological character capable of supporting unique human and nonhuman living communities” (3). Thayer argues that a sense of bioregional identity leads to ethical thinking about one's actions as a citizen of a particular bioregion, and that bioregional thinking is necessary for diverse communities to cooperate across traditional ethnic and political boundaries to address ecological crises facing specific biomes, in order to achieve a “mutually sustainable future for humans, other life-forms, and earthly systems” (Thayer 2003, 1–6). As literary critics Lynch, Glotfelty, and Armbruster (2012) explain, a local bioregional identity can complement and even supersede other common foundations for identity, such as nationality or ethnicity (4). Thayer (2003) summarizes the ethical implications of this sense of identity as follows:

The bioregional or “life-place” concept suggests the efflorescence and emplacement of *biophilia*, our innate affection for the totality of life in all its forms. Although by no means a unified philosophy, theory, or method, the bioregional approach suggests a means of living by deep understanding of, respect for, and, ultimately, care of a naturally bounded region or territory. (4)

Sámi elders demonstrate this kind of bioregional identity when they lament the hardening of political borders separating Finland,

Norway, and Sweden that interfere with the seasonal migration of Sámi reindeer herders (Lehtola 2004, 36–37; Turi [1910] 2011, 86–87). Turi ([1910] 2011) communicates a deep sense of identity based on his environment when he states in his preface to *An Account of the Sámi* that it is difficult for Sámis in his time period to express themselves when interacting with government officials because there is neither wind nor an open perspective within the confinement of buildings: “But when a Sámi is on the high mountains, then he has quite a clear mind” (9). Turi’s phenomenological perception even resonates with modern findings in cognitive science regarding embodiment and extended cognition.

The concept of bioregional identity can help illuminate many of the political issues related to the construction of Finnish identity. A major contradiction within the Finnish nationalist movement was that many Finland-Swedes—that is, inhabitants of Finland who speak Swedish and generally trace their ancestry to Swedish settlers in Finland—identified themselves as Finns on the basis of their lived environment, but tended to exclude the Sámi people from this construction. Lönnrot’s (1963b) disparaging remarks in his prefaces to the *Old* and *New Kalevala* about the Sámi people are aimed toward a readership that included many Finland-Swedes who were the founders of Finnish National Romanticism (Pentikäinen 1999, 23–28). Eminent Finland-Swedes such as Johan Ludvig Runeberg, Johan Vilhelm Snellman, and Jean Sibelius all considered themselves to be legitimate contributors to Finland’s national culture (Branch 1998, 30–31; Mäkelä 2011, 131–32; Runeberg [1848] 1960). Thus the Finnish Romantic movement inconsistently conflated national identity with bioregional identity, arbitrarily including certain ethnic backgrounds, such as Finns, Karelians, and Finland-Swedes, but excluding the Sámi people who had inhabited Finland far longer than Swedish settlers.

Furthermore, the concept of bioregional identity even appears in Classical and Medieval sources that construct a particular identity for Finland that is intriguingly, from the very beginning, based on human-animality intertwining. When in 98 CE Tacitus (1999) reports on the *Fenni*, a term that potentially refers to both Sámi and Finnish people, the urbanized culture of Roman civilization looked down upon but also admired the stoical contentment of cultures that lived so close to the brute wilderness (61, 112). As Tacitus (1999) states in his oft-quoted passage in *Germania* (46.3),

[t]he Fenni have astonishing savagery and squalid poverty: there are no arms, no horses, no household; herbs serve as their food, hides as their clothing, the ground as their bed; their only hopes are in their arrows, which they point with bones in the absence of iron. And the same hunt feeds men and women alike: for the latter accompany the men everywhere and claim their part in catching the spoil. The children have no other protection against wild animals and rains than being placed under some intertwined branches [. . .]. But they think it a happier state than to groan over working of fields, to struggle at home-building [. . .] they have attained a most difficult thing, not to have the need even to express a wish. (59–61)

Although *Fenni* could refer to proto-Finnish speakers, scholars tend to believe that this passage refers to ancient Sámi-speakers, who would therefore be—one might say—the earliest people recorded to possess Finnish *sisu*, defined through the stoical struggle to survive in the harsh wilderness that Tacitus describes (Kent 2014, 8). In Classical and Medieval sources, the terms *Phinnoi* (Greek), *Fenni* (Latin), and *Finnr*, *Fiðr*, and *Finni* (Old Norse) originally referred to people who were most likely Sámis (Collinder 1965, 7–8; Mundal 1996, 98). Else Mundal (1996) states that Medieval Norse sources did not seem to make a major distinction between the Sámi and Finnish peoples when they used terms such as *Finnr* and *Finna* (98). Researchers have established that in earlier time periods ancient Sámi-speaking settlements existed alongside Finnish-speaking populations in southern and eastern Finland (Kent 2014, 20).

Interestingly, the etymology of the word “Finland” also points to an ancient bioregional identity based on human-animality intertwining that both the proto-Sámi and proto-Finnish peoples experienced. Collinder (1965) argues that the original meaning of *Finni* is most likely related to Germanic verbs for “to find,” such as the Old Norse verb *finna*, and thus the word *Finni* “may have denoted ‘finder,’ that is ‘catcher’ (‘hunter’ and ‘fisher’)” (7). If this is the case, then ancient Germanic-speaking travelers to Finland constructed an identity for the proto-Sámi and proto-Finnish inhabitants based on the important relationship that these people had with the animals and fish they depended on for food. Both the Sámi *joik* tradition and the *Kalevala* attest to the traditional occupations of hunting and fishing to *finna* sustenance. These findings raise an interesting question: What if the “finder” characters in the

Kalevala could be read as representing ancient Sámi hunters instead of as proto-Finns? A number of researchers have theorized that the terms *Suomi*, *Häme* (province in south-central Finland), and *Sápmi* are all related to the proto-Baltic word *zeme*, which means “land” or “flat country” (Koivulehto 1993; Pentikäinen 1999, 226; 2000, 141). The words *Finn* and *Suomi* are therefore constructions that have changed in meaning over time, raising questions about whether characters like Väinämöinen and Lemminkäinen could even be interpreted as Sámi hunters. If we assess the *Kalevala* as a bioregional epic, it becomes possible to theorize how Lönnrot’s epic, contrary to his nationalist purposes, actually celebrates the adaptations that both ancient Sámi and Finnish peoples made to survive in the overlapping regions of Sápmi and Finland.

Studying the *Kalevala* from an ecocritical standpoint demands comparisons with the Sámi *joik* tradition and its portrayal of the environment as an important part of the bioregional cultural context. Though the *Kalevala* does not necessarily portray the *joiking* of Sámi characters per se, a productive point of similarity is that both Kalevaic rune-singing and the Sámi *joik* singing can be addressed to a nonhuman audience in the environment that is assumed to possess the subjectivity and ability to respond aesthetically to human singing. As Turi ([1910] 2011) defines it, a *joik* is a form of singing, accompanied by deep emotion that recalls people, lands, or animals (161). For example, a certain *joik* from Swedish Lapland transcribed in 1893 praises the bear for his splendid appearance, making the following supplication:

Viesuoh burrist dalle miihtsij gånågis,
val ielie buđđiht muv ieluov, tjábbámuš!

Live happily now, king of the forests
but don’t scatter my flock, O fairest one!

(Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994, 183, 678)

The original Sámi word for *joik* is a transitive verb, denoting that the singer directly *joiks* a person, animal, or other subject, such as a landscape (Ramnarine 2009, 188–89). A *joik* thus has the power to bring past experiences to the present, recreating them through words, syllables, imitative sounds, and melody, as if painting a picture through sound, a depiction that, in the words of Sámi scholar Harald Gaski (2000), “adds up to more than just the sum of lyrics and melody” (191–93). Emphasizing the circular nature of

joiks, Sámi singer, poet, and artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää explains, “Sillä ei ole alkua eikä sillä oikeastaan loppukaan. Se vain on” (“It has no beginning, and actually it has no ending either. It just is”) (NRK Sámi Radio/SVT 2002). DuBois reveals that a key aesthetic feature of Sámi *joiks* is an emphasis on characterization, description, and emotion rather than plot, and DuBois identifies these same aesthetic qualities in the *Kalevala* as well (2006, 8–10; 2007, 6–8). Furthermore, DuBois analyzes several examples of Sámi *joiks* sung to recall specific experiences with animals, such as reindeer and bears, and this affectionate depiction of animals reveals a key similarity between Lönnrot’s *Kalevala* and Sámi singing traditions (DuBois 2006, 9–10, 69–71).

Lönnrot’s Portrayal of Finno-Ugric Environmental Aesthetics

In this paper, my ecocritical reading of the *Kalevala* conceives of Lönnrot as a literary author attempting to portray a semi-historical snapshot of ancient Finnish life. Although Lönnrot used genuine folklore materials, the *Kalevala* itself is not considered to be “authentic” folklore, because of the compiler’s role in editing and rearranging the material (Branch 1998, 30–32; Pentikäinen 1999, 1–3). Lönnrot added original lines of his own that make up about three percent of the text, while also composing another 14 percent using folkloric elements; 50 percent come from folk poems that Lönnrot edited in regards to language and meter; and only 33 percent of the *Kalevala* corresponds precisely with original transcriptions of folk poetry (Anttonen 2009, 100; Kaukonen 1979, 72). Since Lönnrot put such a unique literary stamp on the *Kalevala*, Pentikäinen and Kailo criticize the compiler for ideologically altering poems composed within a cyclical shamanistic worldview and presenting them in the linear form of an epic that culminates in the arrival of Christianity in Finland (Kailo 2001, 207–8; Pentikäinen 1999, 153–61; 2007, 134–35). In summarizing the most common critical reactions to the *Kalevala*, DuBois (2007) discerns two schools of thought: the more hardline folklorists often see Lönnrot as misappropriating and misrepresenting the diverse Finnish and Karelian folk contexts, whereas other folklorists have elevated Lönnrot’s status to that of a folk poet himself (5). In contrast to these views, DuBois advocates a third way of reading that recognizes the agency of Lönnrot as a literary author developing his own compelling characters.

DuBois (2007) locates Lönnrot’s literary artistry in the way he “focused first on character and only secondarily on plot,”

especially in the way he attempts to reconstruct historiographical sketches of various Finnish/Karelian heroes, such as the lusty hunter Lemminkäinen (8). In a similar line of thinking, I suggest that Lönnrot deliberately includes interactions between characters and the animals, plants, and other features of the Nordic environment in order to develop a certain ethos for characters such as Väinämöinen and Lemminkäinen, to preserve what he believed was an ancient Finnish mentality concerning human-nature relationships. Although scholars even in Lönnrot's time have considered these characters to be divine mythological figures, Lönnrot specifically argues for a historical interpretation in the 1849 preface to the *Kalevala* (Lönnrot 1963b, 374, 378–79; Pentikäinen 1999, 154–61). Thus, although his assumptions about the historicity of his epic are questionable, Lönnrot intends many of his characters to be seen as humans interacting with animals and other aspects of the natural environment of ancient Finland.

Early in the *Kalevala* in Poem 2, Lönnrot develops Väinämöinen as a sustainable agriculturalist functioning as a culture hero responsible for developing the land's potential (Honko 1994, 90–91). Converting forests to fields entails slash-and-burn cultivation, a technique used in Finland for thousands of years, and in Lönnrot's day slash-and-burn continued to be a predominant agricultural method used in Karelia and eastern Finland (Myllyntaus, Hares, and Kunnas 2002, 267–72). However, since Finno-Ugrians believed in the sacredness of woodlands, the use of slash-and-burn agriculture could have been spiritually traumatic, creating feelings of guilt for disturbing the living creatures and spirits in the forest. In line with Finno-Ugric respect for life, Väinämöinen does not mindlessly attack the forest, but while cutting down a clearing,

Yhen jätti koivahaisen
Lintujen lepo-siaksi,
Käkösen kukunta-puuksi.

he left one birch
as a resting place for birds,
as a tree for a cuckoo to call in.

(2: 262–64)

When an eagle asks why this tree remains unfelled, Väinämöinen explains his eco-friendly intentions, and the eagle praises him and proceeds to strike fire, lighting the fallen logs, which turn into fertile

ashes so Väinämöinen can sow the field with barley (2: 265–94). A cuckoo soon arrives making the same inquiry, and Väinämöinen welcomes the bird to alight and sing: “Hoiloa hopearinta, / Tinarinta riukuttele” (“Cry out, you with a silvery voice, / you with a ringing voice, warble away”) (2: 371–72). In the final lines of Poem 2, he even asks the cuckoo to bless his work three times daily (2: 373–78). In this opening characterization of Kalevala’s leading hero, Lönnrot reveals the sage’s deep care for animals and his awareness of a spiritual kind of human-animality intertwining, for he even asserts the linguistic authority of the cuckoo to pray for Kalevala’s prosperity.

In Poem 7, Lönnrot creates a link back to the tree episode, when the same eagle from Poem 2 flies out of Sápmi (“Lapista”) and finds Väinämöinen wounded, floating in the sea after having been shot with an arrow (7: 43–56). The eagle gladly hoists Väinämöinen up on his back and carries him to land, expressing his gratitude:

Heitit koivun kasvamahan,
Puun soresan seisomahan
Linnuille lepeämiksi,
Itselleni istuimiksi.

You left a birch growing,
a lovely tree standing
as a resting place for birds,
as a place for myself to perch on.

(7: 99–102)

In this example of human-animal interdependence, Lönnrot enshrines ecological wisdom as a Finnish cultural trait that will ensure the nation’s survival. However, this kind of wisdom is also central to traditional Sámi beliefs, as Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2004) explains: “Human beings could only successfully make their living by cooperating with natural forces. It was essential not to damage nature, as that would interfere with the higher spirits” (88). Sámi peoples have traditionally considered all animals to be sacred, especially bears (Pentikäinen 2007, 44). Whereas Sámi communities maintained nomadic hunter-gatherer and herding lifestyles for much longer, ancient Finns gradually transitioned from a migratory lifestyle to a mixed economy dependent on agriculture supplemented by herding, hunting, and fishing (Honko 1994, 117). Although Väinämöinen’s farming efforts require the destruction of

animal habitat, the birds commend him for minimizing his damage to the environment, revealing a mutual exchange between humans and the land specifically applied to an agricultural context. At a time when slash-and-burn agriculture was still common in eastern Finland, Lönnrot thus uses Väinämöinen to model how modern farmers should continue to enact an ancient Finno-Ugric mentality concerning sustainable land usage. In addition, the mention of these specific birds, the cuckoo and the eagle, helps to illustrate the unique fauna that are intertwined with human destiny in the bioregion of Finland and Sápmi. Like Lönnrot, Turi ([1910] 2011) also emphasizes the importance of birds, explaining how Sámi communities carefully examined bird behavior for weather prognostication as a matter of survival (112–15). Even though Lönnrot uses Väinämöinen's character to construct a Finnish national ethos, Väinämöinen's relationship to the avian world embodies a broader Finno-Ugric environmental mindset that appears throughout the poetry of the Sámi, Karelian, and Finnish peoples.

The “eternal sage” (“tietäjä iän ikuinen”) Väinämöinen contrasts sharply with the “reckless” (“lieto”) hunter Lemminkäinen, whom Lönnrot portrays as gradually learning through experience to adopt the Finno-Ugric reverence for the forest and its inhabitants. In Poem 13, Lemminkäinen travels to Pohjola (North Farm) to request permission to marry the beautiful daughter of the clan's matriarch, Louhi. In response, Louhi orders him to ski down and capture the Elk of Hiisi (“Hiien hirvi”) to prove his worth (13: 24–30). Francis Peabody Magoun (1963) notes that though the word *Hiisi* originally refers to a sacrificial grove, in the *Kalevala* “Hiisi” seems to signify a powerful spirit or demon associated with the forest (374–79). Thus, Magoun translates *Hiien hirvi* as “Demon's elk,” which is a supernatural antlered beast conjured by Hiisi out of plant- and tree-based materials, many of which are natural food sources for European elk (known in North America as moose) (13: 105–18).

In arranging for his hunt, Lemminkäinen boastfully focuses on the physical tools he needs, but neglects any spiritual preparation for engaging with the forest powers (13: 31–104). When Lemminkäinen rushes out to ski after the elk, he causes a huge commotion while fruitlessly chasing the creature through Lapland, even disturbing a peaceful Sámi settlement where the people laugh at his foolishness (13: 127–94). After he experiences utter failure in his hunt, Poem 13 ends emphatically with Lemminkäinen declaring the lesson he has learned:

Elköhön sinä ikänä
Menkö toinen miehiämme
Uhallä metsän ajohon,
Hiien hirven hiihantähän,
Kuin menin minä poloinen.

Never, never at all
let another of our men go
arrogantly to hunt a forest animal
ski after the Demon's elk
as I went, poor wretch.

(13: 263–67)

Could it be that Lemminkäinen knows he has violated the Finno-Ugric hunting codes shared by both the Sámi inhabitants of his hunting ground and the Finnish and Karelian cultures to the south (Honko 1994, 117–19; Tarkka 1998, 99–106)? In discussing hunting poems of Finns, Sámis, and other related peoples, Honko (1994) summarizes the hunter's spiritual respect for the forest landscape:

The hunter himself is conscious of being an interloper on another's territory [. . .]. He must be familiar with the ways of the 'lord of the animals', the determiner of the movement and fate of all living creatures, and of the special guardians who watch over each animal species. He must show respect. (118)

In Poem 13, Lemminkäinen ignores the traditional humility of this Finno-Ugric hunting code, and thus Lönnrot depicts Lemminkäinen being shamed by the Sámi inhabitants of the land (13: 173–94).

In the following poem, Lönnrot portrays a repentant Lemminkäinen embodying a humbler hunting mentality. Before his second attempt, Lemminkäinen recites an extensive collection of hunting charms, expressing reverence for the sky god Ukko and for the forest powers, such as Tapio, the forest master, and Tellervo, the forest mistress (14: 13–230). He even vows to pay gold and silver coins to the divine forest guardians if they bless his hunt (14: 221–30). Turi ([1910] 2011) discusses a similar Sámi cultural practice of seeking luck for hunting and fishing by making offerings of money and other goods at *sieiddit*, which are altars devoted to the nature spirits inhabiting a landscape (111). In fact, Lemminkäinen's

offer to present money in exchange for a successful hunt exhibits precisely the same rhetorical move used in Sámi hunting *joiks*, such as the *joik* traditionally sung at a *sieiddi* located at the source of the Kitinen River in Finnish Lapland (Honko 1994, 118–19; Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994, 144, 672–73). As a result of demonstrating the proper spiritual respects, Lemminkäinen succeeds when the forest spirits direct the elk to submit to him willingly. Lönnrot depicts the man repenting of his former arrogance in a tender sketch of human-animal interaction in which he gently lowers his lasso over the Demon elk's shoulders and strokes the beast's back, and he faithfully returns with his offering of money for the forest divinities (14: 247–64). Just as Väinämöinen leaves a tree standing for the birds, Lemminkäinen now understands that successful hunting in the forest requires mutual exchange and respect for the environment.

Though this offering is essentially a pagan practice, Lönnrot considered ancient Finnish paganism to be a logical precursor to Christianity, and therefore Lemminkäinen's eco-theological repentance may represent a proto-Christian conversion in this Finno-Ugric hunter variant of a Prodigal Son (Lönnrot 1963b, 372; Pentikäinen 1999, 75–80, 161). Turi ([1910] 2011) reports that in more modern times, Christianized Sámi hunters sought luck by vowing to give offerings to “poor people who are not pagans or evil-doers” and to people who are elderly, disabled, or “mentally incapacitated and therefore have trouble managing” (111). In line with his devout Lutheranism, Lönnrot structures his epic to culminate in Finland's symbolic conversion to Christianity in Poem 50 (DuBois 1995, 93–116; Pentikäinen 1999, 72–77, 161). In the broader narrative he is weaving, Lönnrot is most likely baptizing the ancient Finno-Ugric understanding that hunters must respect animals as well as the supernatural authority that ultimately governs the forest. Lönnrot thus seeks to integrate this ancient awareness of human-animality intertwining into his construction of modern Finnish spiritual identity. From an ecocritical standpoint, it is significant that Lemminkäinen's conversion narrative in Poems 13 and 14 takes place in the land of Sápmi, and the hunting rituals he adopts are essentially the same as those used by Sámi hunters. Though the *Kalevala* often portrays the Sámi in a negative light, this episode affirms the Sámi inhabitants' annoyance with the reckless hunter as well as their ways of demonstrating respect for the land of Sápmi.

While the *Kalevala* highlights a reverential hunting heritage shared by many Finno-Ugric cultures, Lönnrot's portrayal of music in relation to animals reveals further similarities between Sámi and Finnish/Karelian musical traditions. Just as the *joik* tradition presupposes the subjectivity of nonhuman animals when they listen to human singing, Poems 41 and 44 depict the entire forest ecosystem responding aesthetically to Väinämöinen playing the *kantele* harp. In Poem 41, Väinämöinen crafts a kantele, a traditional horizontal harp, out of the jaw-bone of a giant northern pike. Väinämöinen himself catches this pike when his boat runs aground on the fish's shoulders, and he is the only one strong enough on the boat to kill the pike with his sword and pull it aboard (40: 89–244). His construction of this pike-bone harp emphasizes the relationship between musical instruments and their natural materials, and the joyful music that Väinämöinen plays in Poem 41 literally emanates from the mouth of a fish: “Helähteli hauin hammas, / Kalan pursto purkaeli” (“The pike’s tooth rang out, / the fish’s tail gave forth sound”) (41: 27–28). This contemplation upon the materiality of music resonates with Merleau-Ponty’s ([1964] 1968) concept of Logos as pervading the physical world (152–55).

When he sits down to play his grand kantele, Väinämöinen’s music makes such a powerful impact on the entire bioregion that a host of four-footed forest creatures immediately comes out “to marvel at the joyous music” (“iloa imehtimähän”): squirrels, weasels, elk, lynxes, and even the wolf and the bear (41: 31–56). These animals are followed by the spiritual forest guardians led by Tapio, the master of the woodlands (41: 57–70). Second, Lönnrot depicts the birds, including Väinämöinen’s eagle friend, who are proceeded by the spirits of the air, including the Moon and Sun Spirits (41: 71–116). Third, a host of fish and sea spirits also arrive to listen to and praise the music (41: 117–68). In addition to many other passages about animals in the *Kalevala*, this list of forest and sea dwellers functions as a mythical compendium of the Nordic bioregion, celebrating the specific animals that the people of this region can identify as their neighbors, much in the same way as Turi ([1910] 2011) does for the Sápmi bioregion. Finally, Lönnrot vividly describes the human members of the ecosystem, who join Väinämöinen to weep in response to the beautiful, joyous plucking of the harp (41: 169–92). Using many of the aesthetic features that DuBois identifies in both the Sámi *joik* tradition and throughout the *Kalevala*, Poem 41 relies on description, characterization, and emotion, rather than explicit plot details, painting

a diverse panorama of aesthetic experiences in the forests, skies, and waterways of the Nordic bioregion (DuBois 2006, 8–10; 2007, 6–8). In keeping with his Finnish nationalism, Lönnrot seems to add a verse to emphasize that the *kantele* is a Finnish musical instrument (“Suomen soiton”) (41: 78), as there is no mention of the Finnish nation in one of the original folk songs about the bioregion’s response to Väinämöinen’s *kantele*, transcribed by Christfrid Ganander around 1760 in Ostrobothnia (Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994, 110–12, 671–72). Nonetheless, Lönnrot’s scene embodies a broader Finno-Ugric aesthetic in its focus on character description, emotion, and the natural environment.

Väinämöinen’s music thus functions as a kind of universal language or Logos that unites all inhabitants of the northern boreal bioregion: mammals, birds, fish, the forest spirits, and people of all ages. Even the worms in the soil surface to listen to the *kantele* a few scenes later in Poem 44, in which the animals arrive to hear Väinämöinen playing a *kantele* made out of the fresh wood of a sentient birch tree (44: 301–2). Poem 44 also includes a moving passage spoken by this same birch tree about its anguish and vulnerability to human activities, and to honor and comfort the tree Väinämöinen decides to cut it down and carve its wood into a *kantele* (44: 89–176). Thus the aesthetic power of Väinämöinen’s music to enthrall his listeners derives from the painful experiences of the birch tree. In addition, these aesthetic responses also remind us to consider how human activities and noise pollution can impact the environment. Since Lönnrot portrays plants and animals as capable of aesthetic responses, Poems 41 and 44 climactically resonate with Merleau-Ponty’s ([1964] 1968) arguments that Logos and consciousness are not unique to humanity (152–55).

Of all the animals portrayed in Poem 41, Lönnrot gives an especially playful depiction of the bear’s bumbling yet sublime response to the music. Hearing the music, the bear ecstatically crashes forth:

Karhu kankahat samosi,
Viimein aiallen asettui,
Veräjälle vieretäikse,
Aita kaatui kalliolle,
Veräjä aholle vieri;
Siitä kuusehen kuvahti,
Petäjähän pyörähytti
Soitantoa kuulemahan,
Iloa imehtimähän.

the bear roamed the heaths;
at last it settled down on a fence,
flung itself onto a gate.
The fence collapsed onto a rock,
the gate toppled over onto a clearing.
Then it jumped up into a fir,
turned suddenly up into a pinetree
to listen to the playing,
to marvel at the joyous music.

(41: 48–56)

Here, Lönnrot encodes a spiritual aesthetic response in the bear's ascension into the pine tree, which functioned as a pathway to heaven in bear folklore. In ancient Finnish and Karelian hunting rituals, hunters placed the skulls of slain bears in pine trees because the pine goddess Hongatar is considered the bear's mother, the pine grove is the bear's mythical nursery, and ultimately the bear's soul needed to travel up the pine tree in order to return to its heavenly home in the Great Bear constellation (46: 357–60, 391–94; Pentikäinen 2007, 80). Lönnrot is thus arguing that ancient Finns and Karelians considered bears to be capable of profound aesthetic responses to musical art.

Soon after this scene of bioregional communal ecstasy, Lönnrot portrays Väinämöinen enacting a traditional bear hunting ritual in Poem 46. Before exploitative nineteenth-century hunting practices were imported to the region, bears were not hunted for sport in traditional Finnish, Karelian, and Sámi cultures, but these people groups would hunt bears if they threatened their livestock or reindeer herds (Pentikäinen 2007, 44, 133–34). According to folklore attested in Poem 32 as well as other sources, the bear had made a promise not to harm humans' livelihood, but if it broke this promise, then it was liable to be hunted, and in these cases Finnish, Karelian, and Sámi hunters had to follow a strict mythical ritual (32: 379–431; Pentikäinen 2007, 44–48, 63–81; Tarkka 1998, 99–106). In Poem 46, Väinämöinen kills one of these problem bears, which had unfortunately been conjured by Louhi to attack the cattle of Kalevala, and this kind of sorcery appears elsewhere in Finnish folklore (46: 7–20; Pentikäinen 2007, 112–14). Before setting out to hunt, Väinämöinen makes prayers to the forest divinities, Tapio and Tellervo, thus showing the same reverence exhibited by Lemminkäinen in Poem 14 (14: 13–230; 46: 47–62).

After the hunt, he thanks the Creator God (“luoja,” 46: 102) and proceeds to display great affection and honor in a long hymn to the slain “Golden cuckoo of the forest” (46: 117):

Otsoseni, ainoiseni,
Mesikämmen kaunoiseni!
Elä suutu suottakana.

My bear, my darling,
honey-paws, my beauty,
do not get angry without reason.

(46: 107–9)

Throughout Poem 46, Väinämöinen employs numerous poetic names for the bear, enacting a Finnish/Karelian tradition of referring to bears with circumlocutions and pet names, as the Finnish word for bear, *karhu*, was sometimes considered a taboo (Pentikäinen 2007, 93–106). Sámi *joik*-singers and bear hunters also use similarly affectionate circumlocutions to avoid the taboo word for bear (Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994, 182–83; Pentikäinen 2007, 45). In the remainder of Poem 46, Lönnrot portrays Väinämöinen enacting a communal bear ritual designed to convince the soul of the bear that it was killed accidentally and was being treated to a feast (Pentikäinen 2007, 77–78). After treating a slain bear to a wedding-feast celebration and a funeral procession, Väinämöinen places the skull of the bear in a pine tree, a ritual intended to aid the bear spirit’s ascent to its place of origin in the Great Bear constellation (46: 357–60, 591–92; Pentikäinen 2007, 43–44, 80). Adapting the original bear ritual from folk poetry sources, Lönnrot emphasizes Väinämöinen’s recognition of the spiritual consciousness of the animal he has hunted and communicates the importance of respecting the animals on which human life so tenuously depends.

Although Lönnrot uses this bear ritual to create a sense of Finnish identity connected to the powerful creature later chosen to be Finland’s national animal (Pentikäinen 2007, 130–44), Poem 46 also represents a broader Finno-Ugrian tradition of bear reverence. A cinematic portrayal of the traditional Sámi bear hunting ritual, which involves *joiking* as well as dancing, can be seen in Nils Gaup’s (1987) film *Ofelaš (Pathfinder)*. Strikingly similar bear rituals have been recorded in modern times on the eastern side of the Ural Mountains among the Ob-Ugrians, suggesting that, based on the estimated timeline for the divergence of Finno-Ugric languages,

reverence for the bear among Finno-Ugric peoples possibly stretches back 4,000–8,000 years (Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994, 29; Pentikäinen 2007, 34–35). In Sámi, Finnish, and Karelian folklore and rituals, the bear is symbolically treated as a member of the human community and seen as capable of understanding human speech (Pentikäinen 2007, 43–81; Tarkka 1998, 96–98; 2013, 347–61). In describing Sámi herding and hunting practices, Turi ([1910] 2011) gives much discussion and several anecdotes about the revered “Furry Old Man”: “A bear has the mind of one man and the strength of nine,” and “the Sámi of old understood that the bear has a sense of conscience” (32, 97–103). Reverence among Finno-Ugric peoples for the bear and its potential reasoning and linguistic abilities is yet another example of conceptualizing Logos as pervading the natural world.

Even though Poem 46 is a clear embodiment of Finno-Ugric environmental aesthetics, Pentikäinen offers sharp criticism for Lönnrot’s adaptation of the original bear hunting rituals. Comparing Poem 46 to other records of bear hunting poems, Pentikäinen (2007) argues that Lönnrot purposely diminishes the sacred role of the bear because of his “personal devout attitudes towards Christianity” and also because of his intention to privilege an agrarian anti-predator perspective (134–39). However, I would like to counter that Lönnrot nevertheless includes the core pieces of the ritual, giving enough detail for readers to understand Väinämöinen’s spiritual respect for the bear’s subjectivity. Though Pentikäinen’s analysis reveals Lönnrot’s alterations to the folklore versions, the bear ritual in Poem 46 functions as the consummation of Lönnrot’s previous characterizations of Väinämöinen as a man expressing a deep reverence for animals and their spiritual subjectivity. DuBois (2007) argues that since Lönnrot believed in the sage’s historicity and even researched Väinämöinen as the topic of his 1827 master’s thesis, it is essential for readers to focus on how Lönnrot shapes his characters into what he considered to be coherent representations of historical figures. Although Lönnrot uses this portrayal of Väinämöinen’s bear hunt for Romantic Nationalist ends, the sublime wonder that the bear inspires reaches worldwide, as bear ceremonies have been recorded spanning Eurasia and North America, and ultimately the *Kalevala*’s passages on bears have the power to create a common sense of bioregional identity for disparate peoples who live alongside *Metsän Kultainen Kuningas* (“Golden King of the Forest”) (Honko 1994, 120, 127–32; Poem 14: 216).

The Sampo Narrative: An Ecological Parable

An ecocritical lens also reveals a latent message within the structural core of Lönnrot's *Kalevala*: the Sampo narrative. Lönnrot frames the tension within the 1849 *Kalevala* around the folk narrative about the creation and theft of the mysterious Sampo, a milling mechanism that produces endless riches, and most readings of this narrative focus on its nationalist political message (Pentikäinen 1999, 32–34). Much scholarship has criticized Lönnrot for overdramatizing the conflict between Kalevala and Pohjola in order to please the Hegelian ideologues who desired to see the Finnish people forging a heroic national essence through fighting a common enemy (Branch 1998, 31–32; Pentikäinen 1999, 32–35, 239–40). In her critique of Lönnrot's demonization of the matriarch of Pohjola, Kailo (2001) sympathizes with Louhi, portraying her as a mother simply defending her property when the raiders from Kalevala steal the Sampo (202). Although theories vary on the original meaning of the Sampo in folklore, Lönnrot's portrayal clearly indicates some kind of advanced technological mechanism (Honko, Timonen, and Branch 1994, 768; Tarkka 2013, 209–25). The skillful blacksmith Ilmarinen forges the Sampo as a bride price for Louhi's daughter, constructing this metallic wonder through a complicated process requiring specific implements and slave labor, as well as rigorous usability testing reminiscent of a modern engineer's trial-and-error approach (10: 295–412). The imagery in Poem 10 evokes a hellish industrial nightmare built on the backs of the working class. Toward the end of the epic, Ilmarinen enviously complains to Väinämöinen that the Sampo is producing massive wealth for Pohjola—food, items to trade, and other valuable household goods (38: 101–14). As a result, the Kalevala heroes decide to steal the Sampo, but during a chaotic sea battle against Louhi, magically embodied as a giant eagle, the Sampo slips beneath the waves (43: 241–66).

The envy and violence that this device incites suggests a latent unease in the *Kalevala* about mechanistic technology's potential to produce massive wealth and to alienate people from the cycles of nature in which human life is intertwined. In her application of ecocritical concepts to ancient works of literature such as the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Westling (2014) argues that “the earliest literatures are haunted by fears of what happens when humans try to set themselves outside or above these wider kinships” with animals and the environment (49). Lönnrot might not have intended to create a parable about the risks of developing advanced technology, but

an ecocritical perspective welcomes this radical reinterpretation of the Sampo narrative's ethics. According to Ilmarinen's design, the Sampo mill functions as a technologically driven cornucopia, automatically milling out grain and food on one side, salt and items to sell on the second, and money and household supplies on the third (10: 413–22). When Louhi installs the Sampo into a mountain stronghold in Pohjola, the magical device shoots three different roots into the ground: the first straight down, the second toward land bordering water, and the third into the hill under the Pohjola homestead (10: 423–32). These three roots seem to correlate with the three sides of the Sampo: 1) the ground is linked to food production, 2) the body of water, presumably a salty sea, is linked to salt production, and 3) the ground under the homestead is linked to the production of household supplies. Thus, the automatic milling of the Sampo appears to effortlessly convert underground mineral resources into immense wealth, suggesting some kind of exploitation of the earth that perverts the mutual interdependence between humans and their environment.

In other episodes, Väinämöinen procures sustenance through farming, fishing, and hunting, which are portrayed as sacred activities that intertwine the sage with his natural surroundings, but Lönnrot's version of the Sampo narrative seems to anticipate the environmental alienation that occurs when basic human needs are obtained through mechanized technology. It is ultimately an environmental tragedy that the people of Pohjola and Kalevala are corrupted by a desire to escape the vicissitudes of natural cycles, resulting in a destructive war that lasts for several cantos. Such avarice and violence transgresses Thayer's (2003) bioregional ethical approach that seeks to bring together the inhabitants of a bioregion to pursue mutually beneficial and sustainable solutions (1–6). Although Väinämöinen for the most part demonstrates a wise and respectful consciousness of bioregional ethics in his interactions with the animals of the Finnish forest, his tragic flaw is his desire to replace sacred human-animality intertwining with dependence on the wizardry of mechanized technology. The climactic destruction of the Sampo thus fulfills poetic justice from an ecocritical standpoint, a perspective that radically subverts Lönnrot's Hegelian nationalistic intention for this episode.

The Sampo conflict in Poem 43 also contributes to the North versus South dichotomy in its use of the terms "Lappi" ("Lapp") and "Turjalainen" ("person of Finnmark," the northernmost county of Norway) to refer to the vengeful Louhi as Väinämöinen's

adversary (43: 335–36). Even though the Finnish word *Lappi* originally signifies a “limit” or “end,” possibly referring to the northerly region bordering the mythical abode of the dead, some scholars such as Kailo believe it is warranted to interpret Louhi as a Sámi character despite Lönnrot’s claim in his preface that the inhabitants of Pohjola were Finns (Kailo 2001; Kent 2014, 11; Lönnrot 1963a, 378; Siikala 2002, 157–62). But regardless of whether the peoples of Kalevala and Pohjola are proto-Finns or proto-Sámis, an ecocritical perspective is sympathetic but critical toward both sides, who fail to compromise about sharing the wealth generated by mechanized technology. Lönnrot’s Sampo narrative thus prophesies the environmental problems and conflicts arising in modern times as a result of importing industrial mining and forestry technology into Sápmi (Lehtola 2004, 88; Mustajoki et al. 2011; Närhi, Räisänen, Sutinen, and Sutinen 2012). By developing an environmental message that Lönnrot may not have even considered, the epic’s central Sampo narrative can function as a cautionary parable that enriches the *Kalevala*’s ethical function as a bioregional epic.

Finno-Ugric Environmental Aesthetics and the International Arena

The environmental aesthetics embodied in the *Kalevala* and the Sámi *joik* tradition overall contribute to a robust theory of ecocritical reception that is useful for appreciating and critiquing key works of art, literature, and music produced during the Finnish independence movement, including the orchestral compositions of Sibelius, whose relationship to the *Kalevala* and the Finnish natural environment is well documented by scholars such as Daniel Grimley (2004, 2011) and Tomi Mäkelä (2011). In light of the *joik*’s aesthetic purpose of recalling the past, the *Kalevala* can be understood to perform a similar function by painting sonic pictures that bring to mind the multiethnic inhabitants of ancient Finland, surrounded by forests and lakes, and deeply aware of their enmeshment in the ecosystem. Such an ecological mode of reception eschews the pitfalls of nationalism, and instead values the diverse affective experiences of all people who encounter both the natural environment and the art, music, and literature associated with Finland, allowing the diverse expressions of Sámi, Finnish, and Karelian cultures to inspire a broader sense of bioregional identity for anyone who feels a connection to the worldwide boreal forest bioregion. In addition, an understanding of the diverse geography of Sápmi and the ecological concepts embedded in the *joik* tradition can deepen international audiences’ experiences of contemporary expressions

of Sámi music that fuse *joik*-singing with modern genres of jazz, rock, and pop.

Aesthetic experiences with Finnish landscapes and the *Kalevala* have historically provided impetus for Finnish people to seek independence from Russia as well as sovereignty over Finland's natural resources, but these kinds of affective experiences at the nexus of nature and art transcend national and ethnic boundaries, and can also generate a renewed sense of ethical obligations to the natural environment. Although readers must acknowledge the *Kalevala*'s role in suppressing Sámi identity and land-usage rights, Lönnrot's Sampo narrative warns us of the futility of conflict over the wealth that modern technology can exploit from the earth, and many other aspects of the epic remind us of our enmeshment with other people, nonhuman animals, plants, and various environmental features in our local bioregional communities. The bioregional ethics embedded in the *Kalevala* ultimately should compel the Finnish government as well as the European Union to give more environmental autonomy to Sámi leadership in their efforts to preserve the landscapes of Sápmi in a bioregionally sustainable fashion, as they have for generations (Lehtola 2004, 88). With only about 50,000 speakers of the ten extant Sámi languages remaining, there is an urgent need to promote the Sámi way of life, especially the rich aesthetic language of *joiking* the earth and its inhabitants (Kent 2014, 2; Lehtola 2004, 11). Despite the continuation of geopolitical tensions in northern Eurasia, joiking the shared environment—the intertwining of humans, nonhuman animals, forests, lakes, and seas—has the potential to bring divided peoples together to address modern environmental exigencies.

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“Lest They Go Hungry”: Negotiations on Money and Survival

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Abstract

In this article I will shed light on the nation-building project in Finland before its independence. In the center of this study are the individuals who at the most part created the material of the national culture and literature: folklore collectors and early Finnish writers. According to the correspondence analyzed here, it appears that there were numerous ordinary, daily factors that influenced their work. Most of these were material, including the economic situation. At a mundane level, the survival of the collectors and writers overlaps with the questions of twenty-first-century precarization research. In this article, I highlight and contemplate these confluences.

Keywords: folklore collecting, folklore archives, early Finnish writers, nationalism

Introduction

In this article, I investigate the material and immaterial conditions—that is, the daily life of the folklore collectors and other Finnish writers expressed in their correspondence—that has formed the basis of the collection of folklore materials and the production of

1 This article is written in the project “Russia as a Field and an Archive: Constructing Finnishness among Ethnographers of the 19th and 20th Century” 2017–21, funded by the Academy of Finland.

a national narrative in Finland. A careful consideration of these materials brings to light the modest and even dreary side of the nation-building process, which continues to be performed and represented as a noble and unifying project of the Finns.

The material and immaterial conditions of the grand narrative of Finland are primarily constituted by the conditions of individuals, the agents and actors working towards national and idealistic goals. In my article, I study the individuals who worked for the Finnish national project which aimed for a coherent national culture, a written literature, and a civilized literary language. My work is thus linked to research on social policy and, especially, the research on precarization, the temporary nature of work life in the twenty-first century, when employment is increasingly more insecure and more intertwined with private life.²

The primary sources for the study are made up of archived biographical materials: letters exchanged between the archives and the collectors, field notes, and autobiographical sources such as diaries. The archival material is primarily housed in the folklore archives of the Finnish Literature Society (FLS). While my focus here is on money and the economic conditions of the work of the creative class, my overall aim has been to consider all the material and personal factors that have influenced the work of the creative class. These factors include families, other close relationships, and affective life experiences. These issues surface in the correspondence as well.

The main questions are as follows: What was the situation of the folklore collectors and early Finnish writers in the Finnish nation-making process? How did they survive, that is, how did they negotiate and obtain funding, grants, and payments? What was the basis of the funding they managed to receive? How did the collectors and writers experience their work? What were the immaterial conditions of their working life? In other words, what role did emotional conditions and affective relations, their relationships

2 The precarization research examines mainly the new, fragile work life of the 2000s, but the concept and the idea are old. The concept comes from the French word *precarite*, which indicates the farmhands and crofters who never knew how much work was enough to pay the rent, and the contract was held by the land owner (Jokinen, verbal information 2016). In the frame of precarization research, it seems that the phase of stable and secure paid work, Fordism, has been only a temporary period in the history of work (Neilson and Rossiter 2008). In the agrarian Grand Duchy of Finland and, later, early independent Finland, work life was more or less precarious.

with spouses, children, and the wider network of kin and community, play in their creative work?

Nation-Builders?

For example, if the Finnish Literature Society were able to give me those 500 marks, I would commit myself to the services of the Society as best as I am able for the rest of my days. [. . .] For my own part, I can promise that it will be a valuable collection for future scholars. If this request strikes you as offensive or inappropriate, please refrain from mentioning it to anyone and, for the sake of our friendship, forgive me for having the audacity to beg, but please inform me if there is any hope of money or not.

—Heikki Meriläinen to the Finnish Literature Society, 1889.³

The collection of folklore material in Finland was not only a matter of noble nationalism and the construction of a unique Finnish culture; it was also a matter of money and survival. Although the circumstances of folklore collectors—for example, dire poverty—remain largely invisible in the archive material, their correspondence with the Finnish Literature Society betrays the economic conditions in which they worked. Moreover, the economic conditions of their work are closely connected to immaterial conditions, such as families, emotional ties, and so on. The majority of folklore collectors and early Finnish writers worked and lived in tough conditions—some were even destitute—and the small grants or payments for collections were vital to the survival and well-being of their families.⁴ Hence, one of the unofficial duties of the Finnish Literature Society was to keep these builders of culture alive. This

3 Esimerkiksi, jos Suom. Kirjallisuuden seura voisi minulle antaa sen viisi sataa markkaa, niin sitoutuisin ikäpäivikseni kotini piirissä siitä rahasta työskentelemään kirjallisuuden seuran hyväksi mitä voin. [. . .]

Puolestani voin luvata, että siitä tulee tuleville tutkimuksille hyvinkin arvokas kokoelma. Jos tämä avun pyyntöni on Teidän mielestänne kovin vasten mielinen ja sopimaton, niin elkkä virkkako kenellekään ja ystävytemme tähden antakaa minulle anteeksi tämä rohkea kerjäämiseni, mutta olkaa niin hyvä ja ilmottakaa kuitenkin minulle, onko toivoa siitä rahasta, eli ei. (SKS KIA 112:23, Meriläinen to Kaarle Krohn, Sotkamo, January 18, 1889). All translations from Finnish into English are by the author.

4 Of the collecting process see Mikkola 2009, 2013; Kauranen 2006; also Pöysä and Timonen 2004.

was done with varying success. Indeed, Aleksis Kivi (1834–72), who was later elevated to the status of national literary icon, lived out his final days in poverty (Sihvo 2002).

The focus for my viewpoint is the ethos and continuum of work done by the creative class of the nation-building—and any temporary and insecure work in the twenty-first century. Also, I intend to apply some concepts from the research on precarization, such as the control of affections (see Savage et al. 2013; Jokinen 2015; see also Ahmed 2010).

The concepts of *affect* and the *control of affections*, linked to twenty-first century precarization research, express the ways in which a precarious and unstable working life intertwines with one’s personal life, family life, spare time, body, and mind. Indeed, the concept of affect stresses the holistic demand of the working life and its bodily and emotional requirements. Affects are defined as pre-emotions or pre-feelings, or sensations recognized in and on the body, which are not only linked to the precariousness of work, but also are a requirement to become involved in work in the first place. Workers need to be affectively inspired by the work and all the new possibilities it can offer, even when these possibilities are improbable. What is more, workers need to be humble, and only positive affections can be safely expressed, for negative affections would harm the workers themselves. In an unstable and insecure working life, the individual’s very existence depends on keeping emotions and affections under control: the precarious worker cannot afford to fall into despair because funding could be denied or a work contract could suddenly not be renewed. Furthermore, the worker not only has to be perpetually resilient and able to regain enthusiasm for the work but also to be able to control the negative affections, possibly towards society or the employer. In other words, one needs to be an affective person, and affections are necessary, but they need to be held in check. The efforts by folklore collectors and writers to find a balance between the expectations and the conditions of a precarious economic life are also perceptible in correspondence concerning Finnish cultural traditions and literature in the early twentieth century.

Sometimes the work itself is affective: for example, the work done for the homeland was presented as an affective mission, a vocation, and, according to Mannevuola (2015), there is no work without affects. Certain trades are underpaid or involve other forms of uncertainty such as temporary employment or fixed-term contracts; difficult working conditions, such as very small payments

or insecure employments, are justified by the vocation. Artists and researchers work for vocation, so they seem not to have a right to complain (and neither do nurses, for example). This is one of the discourses that the writers and collectors at the turn of the century recognized and used for themselves.

I know there's no money to be made in being a writer in Finland these days, I should not have started at all. (SKS KIA Viralliset kirjekokoelmat 102–3, Tanttu to FLS, Oct. 27, 1913)

It is no fun to be poor, even though I know I am not the only one in Finland. (SKS KIA Viljo Tarkiaisen kirjekokoelma 199–206, Meriläinen to FLS, 1925)

I know this is not the way to get rich, I never imagined it to be; I never would have done this without an extraordinary call to do so. (SKS KIA Virallinen kirjeenvaihto 97–98, Paulaharju to FLS, 1909)

To be sure, scholars in folklore research and history have studied the motives of collectors and their viewpoints (Kurki 2002; Karkama 2001). However, the mundane conditions underlying the project of constructing culture in Finland have not been investigated in the earlier research. How did the collectors, usually coming from the lower classes, cover the expenses of their collecting work? How did money—or the lack of it—direct the nature of the materials that were to form the basis of Finnish literary culture? Are there any other conditions that affected the work of collecting based on one's own life experience—for example, families, emotional ties, and capability to understand the rune singers? According to the correspondence examined in this article, money, social class, religion, and family all influenced the work of collecting. In addition, in the correspondence there is also mention of personal character, writing skills, or a gift for collecting work.

Beside the economic conditions, it is necessary to stress the questions of class and hegemony that are also reflected in the correspondence analyzed here. I will apply experimentally the concepts of contemporary social policy research on the letter sources in the past: the notions used to conceptualize the precarization and precarious agency in twenty-first-century working life (Jokinen 2015; Savage et al. 2013). By applying these concepts to a historical

context, I aim to highlight the precarious agency and status of the workers of the national culture, the creative class in the era of National Romanticism, which has not been described or considered before as a whole.⁵

For the most part, I investigate the letters of two remarkable Finnish collectors and writers: Samuli Paulaharju and Heikki Meriläinen. I also analyze the letters of writer Kasperi Tantt. In addition, I study some letters of individual writers and folklore collectors concerning economic negotiations or other, material or immaterial, conditions.

Samuli Paulaharju (1875–1943) was a teacher in an elementary school for deaf children in Oulu, but he later gained renown for his extensive career as a writer and a folklore collector in Finland and in Finno-Ugrian areas. From 1900 until 1942, a year before he died, Paulaharju traveled around Finland, Karelia, Lapland, and the Swedish areas settled by Forest Finns. Paulaharju wrote nineteen monographs based on his expeditions. Some of the monographs were only published posthumously, as professional scholars deemed his writings amateurish at the time of their writing.

As a rule, Paulaharju left for his expeditions during the school holidays, which, for the members of his family, meant losing their father for long periods of time. Still, he referred to family reasons when he turned down the offer of an appointment at the National Board of Antiquities (Harju 1989, 129). His emotional experiences, for example, misery and guilt, probably made him a better folklore collector even though his family did not benefit from those experiences. It may be that his own hardships made it easier for him to gain rapport with the rune singers, whose lives, according to available biographical details, were often marked by want and suffering (see, e.g., Seppä 2013). Paulaharju was widowed in 1913, and he was left alone with five children, of whom the youngest was only a toddler. These life experiences appear to have enabled him to establish a deep bond of understanding with at least one rune singer (Seppä 2015). Some years later, in 1919, he remarried. Jenny Paulaharju (née Simelius) was a teacher colleague, with whom he later went on expeditions and who became also a productive collector in her own right.

Heikki Meriläinen (1847–1939) was a farmer, writer, and prodigious folklore collector from Sotkamo, Kainuu. The scholarly community tended to look askance upon his contributions

5 The concept of creative class comes from Richard Florida [2002] 2012.

to folklore collections, regarding them to be spurious. Indeed, the collector tended to color the oral traditions he collected with his own interpretations and to articulate his own literary yearnings (Kurki 2002). Beside his literary career, Meriläinen earned a living from his farm holding, which was physically demanding work and largely profitless and futile, especially as he grew older. These circumstances compelled Meriläinen to write frequently to the Finnish Literature Society, asking for economic support. Usually, his requests were met with a favorable response.

Both Heikki Meriläinen and Samuli Paulaharju occupied a problematic and distinctive position in relation to the folk and the academic community. Meriläinen and Paulaharju were, in the eyes of the academy, “uneducated.” Therefore, the materials collected by both men were regarded with suspicion. Their lack of academic training combined with pronounced literary and interpretational ambitions probably awakened suspicions among academics: folk collectors were not allowed to have such strong notions about the folklore they were collecting; they were supposed to simply “collect,” as neutrally as possible, and leave the interpretations to academics. This is probably one reason why the authenticity of Paulaharju’s and Meriläinen’s collections were questioned. Paulaharju himself felt somewhat exploited by the academic use of the data he had worked so hard to acquire (Harju 1989; Seppä 2015).

Moreover, the folklore collectors, such as Paulaharju and Meriläinen, tended to regard themselves as more astute interpreters of folk thought than the academic researchers who ostensibly knew better. As far as the folk and the people in their own local communities were concerned, the lay collectors looked like members of the gentry; academics, however, regarded men like Meriläinen and Paulaharju as “uneducated” rustics (Seppä 2015; Kurki 2002). For the lay collectors, mixing with people of different social classes led to contradictory experiences and emotions; they were often painfully conscious of their inferiority and outsider status. This is one of the reasons why all negotiations on salaries and grants were awkward and embarrassing. It was in these negotiations over money that the fragile illusion of equality was revealed to be just that—an illusion.

Kasperri Tantt (1886–1918) is known as a bohemian working-class writer, but he trifled between political ideologies and spheres. He mostly wrote poetry, and his most popular work was a miniature novel *Vain kaksi* (Only two), which raised a lot of

discussion and was even reprinted. The novel contemplated the idea of polygamy (Tanttú 1917). Eventually, Tanttú’s flirtations with both political parties during Finland’s Civil War led to his death in 1918: two White officers recognized him as a Red captain, and executed him behind a woodpile (Salmi-Niklander 2010; M. Turunen 2005).⁶

The Basis of Finnish Literature

In the years before independence and even into the early years following, Finland was one of the poorest areas in Europe. The Finnish elite prioritized the project of establishing a national culture, language, literature, and educational system. Also, while the country village societies were obligated to take care of the poor and sick in the name of the poor law, in the cities fraternal orders were founded for different professions, each of which assumed the responsibilities for their members and their members’ families (see Jaakkola 1991). These circumstances engendered a rather odd situation, wherein cultural institutions, such as the Finnish Literature Society, came to serve as social institutions to some degree, offering some minor support to a distinct group of Finnish people. At least it seems that some writers came to expect such cultural institutions to do so. This is evident in the correspondence analyzed in this article.

In 1831, the Finnish Literature Society (FLS) was established with a modest sum of money to support the work of rune collecting and the writing of a national epic. According to the founding charter, the Society was expected to support Finnish literature and the Finnish language (Sulkunen 2004). The mission of the FLS was also, according to the same deed, to award writers who wrote in Finnish and to publish Finnish literature. In the context of National Romanticism, folk poetry and all oral literature were viewed as “unwritten literature” (see Kuusi 1963) because there was almost no written and printed literature in Finnish. European National Romanticism and the epics published in other European countries also inspired Finnish writers to imagine their own such work.

The basis of Finnish standard language was created in the 1500s by Mikael Agricola, but, because of wars and other difficult

6 One significant reason to Tanttú’s execution was a photograph, in which he was performing as a Red Guard captain (Salmi-Niklander 2010, 2015). Yet the case of Tanttú was not unique in Finland in 1918. Many were executed for example because of the pictures taken of them, even though there was no other reason to suspect them for having taken part in any military actions.

circumstances, the standard variety had not established itself sufficiently; it had a rich vocabulary only in the areas of agricultural and religious concepts, but not much more. For the written variety of Finnish to progress, it was important for people to begin to write and read literature in Finnish—not just the Bible and other religious texts. At the same time, Finnish literature continued to develop; indeed, Elias Lönnrot coined many new words. In fact, there was no Finnish word for literature before the establishment of the Finnish Literature Society (Finnish Literature Society website; Sulkunen 2004).

The spirit of National Romanticism in nineteenth-century Europe made the hopes and dreams of an independent Finland possible and visible. Following the European intellectual and literary currents of the time, the Finnish intelligentsia regarded the discovery and invention of a mythological history of the Finns as vitally necessary. The lack of written history inspired people to seek out the performers of oral tradition, especially epic folk poetry. Epic poetry was regarded as evidence of the existence of a high culture, a civilization that could be equated with that of the ancient Greeks, to cite one key example.

Publishing literature in Finnish was one of the very first and most important goals, and only a few years after its founding, as early as 1834, the Finnish Literature Society started to publish printed literature: folk poetry and textbooks. Before that, Finnish printed literature included the ABC-Book by Mikael Agricola and the Bible, as well as various religious books.

Since, practically speaking, there was essentially no literary culture, the foundation of Finnish culture was thought to reside in oral poetry, mythology, and folk narratives. The priority was to collect and store this valuable material. Of course, this also formed the basis of the desire for a national epic of the Finns.

However, financial hardship—indeed having hardly any money at all—characterized the early years of the FLS. Still, the Finnish Literature Society later founded a separate foundation to publish Finnish literature, and by 1916, it had accumulated 50,000 Finnish marks, roughly 116,000 euros today (about 136,000 US dollars). In 1920, Viljo Tarkiainen, the secretary of the Finnish Literature Society, noted that the government funded cattle-breeding societies more generously than it did Finnish literature (Sevänen 1994; Häggman 2015). This, of course, reflects the nature of Finland as an agrarian society.

Family and Emotions

The family ties and life experiences of the creative class emerge with startling clarity in the correspondence. The letters written to the FLS are replete with references to family. Time and time again, the folklore collectors and the writers bring up the necessity for money in relation to their families. The collectors and the writers ask the FLS to be compassionate, to understand the circumstances of their families. Documenting folklore or otherwise collaborating with the FLS brought not only money but also social and cultural capital; for example, the collectors and writers were able to obtain expensive books for their children’s schooling. At the turn of the century, books constituted a luxury that only a select few could afford.

In the letter below, Meriläinen, for instance, makes frequent mention of his daughter, referring to her needs or economic circumstances:

Dear friend professor V. Tarkiainen Helsinki.

After I completed my day’s work, I’ve felt the need to write to you. As I sit here, I am preparing to send my manuscript of *Kolme sisarusta* [The three sisters] to Söderström [publisher], Porvoo. This is the fifth manuscript since *Kuusten juurella* [Under the spruce trees] was published. “Orpo” [The orphan] was already finished when I was visiting you in Helsinki, but it has yet to come out. They had already promised to have it published once by Christmas, then by Midsummer, then again by Christmas, but it has not come out yet.

I cannot lift pen to paper to write another word until the publisher publishes the books and gives me the new strength to keep going. Working in desperation can paralyze even the farmer; as for the man of letters, such a situation not only brings all work and life to a halt; it altogether leaves him numb. (SKS KIA Viljo Tarkiaisen kirjekokoelma 199–206, Meriläinen to FLS, 1904)⁷

Meriläinen starts with a form of address that expresses a personal and equal relationship with the addressee. The addressee is a

⁷ Hyvä tuttava professori V Tarkiainen Helsinki

Työstä päästyäni en malta olla teille kirjoittamatta. Tällä istuimellani tässä panen

“dear friend.”⁸ He then describes a theme familiar in negotiations of precarious work concerning future jobs and publishing. No doubt, all creative workers can recognize this sense of paralysis or numbness when past arrangements and promises have been nullified, or if already completed works are stalled or fail to reach publication.

I have been miserable since my daughter departed to study in America last September and I had to pay her way, no less than sixteen thousand marks [approximately 4,900 euros, 5,700 USD in 2017 value]. So much for my savings for rainy days ahead, and some bank loans to boot. I didn’t have the heart to deny her that opportunity, for the sake of her future, though.

Mother [probably Meriläinen’s wife] is no longer fit to do any work around the farm, and I’m not getting any younger, so we need to hire outside workers for this tiny farm, and my small pension is not enough. So, do you think there is any chance that the FLS could help me, because they have never helped me before? So I could pay my bank loans. It is no fun to be poor, even though I know I am not the only one in Finland.

As for my health, I have no complaints, old age only makes me tired. Nonetheless, last summer I managed to catch more fish than I needed for myself, and in the winter, I caught an abundance of burbot. There’s some burbot soup cooking on the stove at the moment, and burbot roe is excellent food in wintertime, and I can live off it to some degree.

kääröön käsikirjoituksen Kolme sisarusta lähetettäväksi Söderströmin liikkeelle Porvooseen. Tämä on viides käsikirjoitus Kuusten juurella jälkeen. Orpo oli jo käsikirjoituksena silloin kun olin luonanne Helsingissä, vaan ei vielääkään ole ilmestynyt. Se luvattiin vuosi takaperin jouluksi, ei tullut, luvattiin viime juhannukseksi, ei tullut. Luvattiin jouluksi, ei tullut.

En kykene enää nostamaan kynää kirjoittamaan paperille, jos kustantaja ei julkaisemalla kirjojani luo suoniini uutta elonvoimaa. Epätoivoinen työ lamauttaa maanviljelijänkin, se lamauttaa kirjailijänkin, eikä vaan lamauttaa, se kuolettaa.

8 Fin. *tuttava* is typically translated as ‘acquaintance’; here, however, the connotations of ‘friend’ match Meriläinen’s purposes more adequately. In many of his letters to Krohn, Meriläinen uses *ystävä* ‘friend’ and signs his letters *hyvä ystäväsi* ‘your good friend’.

Best wishes to you for the New Year. (SKS KIA Viljo Tarkiaisen kirjekokoelma 199–206, Meriläinen to FLS, 1925)⁹

The correspondence makes visible the private and intimate features of the collectors’ and writers’ lives. Some of the letters of petition underscore the misery of a writer’s existence. These letters also reveal the lack of choices available to many of the people in the creative class. For example, Ruupert Kainulainen, a playwright, makes this point in his letter to the Finnish Literature Society:

Before I am forced to breathe my last breath in desperation and starvation, I turn to you like a drowning man grasping at straws to ask for just a little help, to give me a chance to stay alive and complete “Aleksis Kivi’s trousers, a play in three acts,” a work about the life of a young artist.

The shorter compositions, such as poems, are paid so little for and so rarely . . .

I have more themes for big plays, but they take a lot of time to write . . . Other jobs are not easy to come by, unless I go building batteries,¹⁰ but I can’t even think of going there, as I’m just not up to it.

9 Olen tässä ikävissä päivissä kun tyttäreni viime syyskuussa lähti Amerikan opintomatkalle, jolle piti laittaa matkarahat, ei vähempi kuin kuusitoista tuhatta. Kymmen korkoista pankkivelkaa ja säästöni, joita olin säästänyt pahan päivän varalle, meni viimeistä penniä myöten. En kuitenkaan tahtonut tyttärestäni hänen tulevaisuutensa ovia sulkea pidättämällä kotiin.

Äiti on tullut työhön kykenemättömäksi vanhuuttaan ja minunkin täytyy elämän ponnistuksissa ruveta yliolkani katselemaan, joten vierasta työvoimaa täytyy käyttää tätäkin pientä taloutta pystyssä pitämään, niin se pieni eläkkeeni ei tahdo riittää menoihin. Niin luulisitteko että Suomen Kirjailija liitto voisi minua avustaa, kun se ei ole ennen vielä avustanut, että saisin noita kymmenenkertaisia pankkivelkoja lyhennetyksi. Ei ole lystiä olla köyhänä, vaikka tiedänkin etten ole ainoa köyhä Suomessa.

Terveyteni suhteen ei ole moittimista, ainoastaan vanhuus tuo väsymystä. Vielä kuitenkin viime kesänäkin pyysin kaloja yli oman tarpeen ja nyt talvella pyytelin mateita. Matikka keitto on nytkin kiehumassa ja mateen mäti näin talvella on erinomaista ruokaa, joka sekin minua osaltaan elättää.

Onnellista jatkoa teille uudelle vuodelle Toivottaa Heikki Meriläinen Mieslahdella Tammik. 9 1925

10 During the First World War, while Finland still belonged to Russia, the artillery batteries were built in Helsinki as a part of the larger fortification zone for the defense of St. Petersburg. The work was heavy, and it occupied over 20,000 men as a whole. Even

My play, “On the Karelian Isthmus” was performed in Tampere with great success, but I was paid so little for it . . .

And if only I were still alone! – My wife, who is in S[avon]linna with my little daughter, is also asking me for bread, for she cannot do her sewing now as she just had a baby. And with no money for traveling, we have been apart for six months . . . So, if there is any way you could help me . . . I think it wouldn’t be useless . . .

Yours faithfully,

Ruupert Kainulainen¹¹ (SKS KIA, Kainulainen to FLS, Apr. 29, 1925)

Based on the letters preserved at the FLS, it appears that Kainulainen, or at least his wife, received small sums of cash, not officially from the Society but unofficially from the Society’s employees. The members of the grant committee passed around a hat to collect something for Kainulainen’s wife and sent her thirty Finnish marks (about 105 US dollars by 2017; SKS KIA, Viralliset kirjekokoelmat 103a, Helvi Kainulainen to FLS, May 7, 1915).

Living in poverty means a life of insecurity and instability. Having no money is more than just an economic problem for it affects all areas of a person’s life. The experience of poverty tends

2,000–3,000 Chinese men were brought to Helsinki for the batteries, and also prisoners were ordered to make them. (Sjögren 1976; Lagerstedt and Laulumaa 2014)

11 Ennenkuin epätoivoisena ja nälän nääntämänä olen pakoitettu vetämään viime henkäyksen, käännyn täten kuin oljenkorteen tarttuu hukkuva, vielä teidän puoleenne, että, ettekö soisi minulle näiden päivien sisällä hommata vaikka kuinka pientä avustusta, saadakseni vielä sielun pysymään tomumajassani voidakseni viimeistellä 3-näytöksisen komedian Aleksis Kiven housut/käsittelee nuorten taiteilijain elämää.

Pikku töistä, runoista, saa niin vähän, ja harvoin . . .

Suuria näytelmiä aiheita olisi enemmänkin vaan ne vievät viikkomman aikaa . . . Muuta työtä ei saa, kuin patterin tekoa vaan ei sinnekään voi mennä kun en ole mitenkään siinä kunnossa.

Näytelmästäni, Karjalan kannaksella jonka Tampereen teatteri esitti hyvällä menestyksellä, sain niin vähän, että...

Ja jospa oisinkin vielä yksin! - vaimoni, joka on pikku tyttöni kanssa S. Linnassa, pyytää myös leipää, kun hän ei voi nyt ommella, koska on juuri synnytys tilassa. Ja matkarahojen puutteen olen saanut olla hänestäkin jo puolisen vuotta erossa . . . Jos siis mitenkään voitte, mitä, niin... Luulen, ettei se mitenkään mene turhaan . . . Kunnioittavimmin Ruupert Kainulainen

to create a sense of powerlessness and an inability to be an agent in one’s own life except by constantly sending out appeals for help.

In addition to economic hardships, the collectors often faced other kinds of problems in their efforts to advance national and cultural causes. For example, even religion or religious beliefs affected the task of collecting folklore.

I now again have the honor of sending you a small package, and at the same time I would like to apologize for its low quality. My reasons are the following: first, I am unschooled, and, second, my family belongs to the Beseecher movement. For the sake of domestic peace, I dare not write these matters or any others with their knowledge, only in secret. That is why I work sporadically, one line here, another there. It doesn’t make any sense. But since learning to write was such hard work, I simply cannot allow these things to be forgotten.¹² (SKS KIA 59:52:2, Isopere to FLS, ca. 1885)

Sometimes the writers had health-related problems:

I am submitting these papers to the FLS with mixed feelings. The work is largely unfinished and not yet “fit to be seen by the gentry.” To be sure, they may also be rather unclear as I was unable to proof the papers and to arrange them properly before my affliction interrupted my work. Still, I’ll take courage and send these to be kept in the hope that an enthusiast of Finnish literature would read these over and eliminate unnecessary details before archiving. [. . .] I have consumption; the day after tomorrow I should leave for Joroinen, on the doctor’s orders—Dr. Schutten said that I won’t get better here.

12 Tässä saan taas kunnian lähettää teille pienen lähetyksen ja samalla pyytää anteeksi sitä että se ei ole hyvä, jonka syynä on se että olen oppimaton ja toiseksi että olen sellaisesta kodosta, jossa kotiväkeni ovat kiivaita rukoilevaisten uskonlahkoon kuuluvia henkilöitä, jotta en kotirauhan säilyttämisen vuoksi uskalla kirjoittaa tällaisia eikä mitään muutakaan kuin salaa. Siitä syystä kuin kirjoitan yhden rivin silloin toisen tällöin, ei siitä tule mitään hyvää. Mutta kun vaivalla olen saanut vähän opetettua kirjaimia räähkämään, niin ei auta antaman unohtua senkään pienen opin [. . .]

Nöyrällä kunnioituksella

Juho Fr Isopere

Talokkaan poika Eurajoella.

I wish you good health and all the best!¹³ (SKS KIA 59:62:2, A. Kinnunen to FLS, July 26, 1885)

Consumption, that is, pulmonary tuberculosis, was a common cause of death in Finland until the 1950s.

Social Classes and Control of Affects

Little attention has been paid to the political views held by the actors in the national culture. It seems obvious that most of the academics working in the cultural organizations represented the upper classes and the political right, as opposed to the working class, which, in the early twentieth century, started to demand equality. In the correspondence, the established collectors and writers politically aligned themselves with their addressees (whose sympathies were with the political Right) by condemning the deeds of those on the Left. The Right is referred to as “us,” whereas the Left is referred to as “them.”¹⁴ Those who led the cultural scene were largely born into the upper classes; this ancestral gentility also engendered the political ethos of the organizations they supported—in other words, many of them leaned to the political Right.¹⁵ This phenomenon is also evident in book publishing in the early days of the Finnish state (R. Turunen 2003, 203).

13 Sekavin tuntein rohkenen tarjota näitä myötä seuraavia papereja Kirj. Seuralle, sentähden että se on keskentekoista työtä, jota “ei pitäisi herroille näyttää”. Monesta paikasta ei mahtane vieras saada selvääkään. Enkä ennättänyt puhtaaksiaan kirjoitettuja läpilukemaan ja järestämään, ennekuin tauti keskeytti työni. Kumminkin rohkenen näitä tarjota säilytettäväksi siinä toivossa, että joku Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden ystävä ne läpitarjastaisi ja karsisi mitättömät pois, ennen kuin ne viedään arkistoon. [...]

Minä sairastan keuhkotautia; ylihuomenna pitäisi minun lähteä Joroisiin, sillä rohvessoori al Schutten sanoi, että minä en tule paremmaksi täällä.

Toivon teile terveyttä ja kaikkea hyvää onnea!

Kaikella kunnioituksella

A. Kinnunen

14 Paulaharju also took part in the Civil War in 1918 and the later attempts to free the eastern Karelian villages in Russia. He stated as his motive the concern of the “downfall of the sister nation.” This was justified also by the ideology of the Greater Finland (Harju 1989, 113–19). Paulaharju wrote a diary about the campaign of this north-east front at Kuusamo, “The war diaries,” but it has not been transcribed. (SKS KIA Paulaharju: Sotapäiväkirjat: Koillinen rintama [The war diaries: The north-east front] 1918)

15 During the Civil War in Finland, the Left were the Red Guard and the Right were the White Army and their civil guards. The most of the crofters and workers were (or were suspected to be) on the Red side, and the land owners and the estates supported the White. Yet it was almost impossible to pick one’s side or stay

It seems possible that political positions may have influenced decisions on funding. One writer accuses the FLS of such discrimination:

Once again, I have to struggle with you, revered burgher gentlemen of the Literary Society, abusers of things and funds that are taken from the pockets of the people. The ruler sends money every year to support literary workers, regardless of their standing. But you override his mandate[.] I have left the manuscript with a grant application at a post office. [. . .] Go ahead and put the blame on me if I am accusing you without cause, but I am not taking my words back. I can't accept the injustice, lies, and violence that you still seem to use because you don't give me the same rights as other literaryworkers. (SKS KIA Viralliset kirjekokoelmat 102–3, Kumpulainen to FLS, Jan. 28, 1913)¹⁶

This writer refuses to tone down her emotions or indignation. The letter is aggressive, and the writer states the reason for the discrimination: the people of the FLS are “burghers.” The tone of the letter also suggests that its writer has reached rock bottom: she has little to lose as far as her relationship with the Finnish Literature Society is concerned.

The correspondence as a whole displays a tendency to follow the political chain of events in Finland at the turn of the century: letters written prior to 1900 underscore the difference between the writers and the Society. The writers apologize not only for their mistakes and insufficient collections, but also for their lack of education and any possible misunderstandings. None of the writers dare to ask for any money or even books. After the year 1900, however, the tone of the correspondence slightly changes, and the researcher can discern other voices as well.

independent in 1918 Finland.

16 Taas saan kamppailla teidän kansanne arvoisat kirjallisuus seuran herrat porvarit jotka käytätte väärin asioita ja niitä varoja jotka on kaiettu kansan kukkarosta. Hallitsia lähettä joka vuosi varoja että avusta kirjailia työn tekijöitä ilman arvo asteisin katsomatta. Mutta te menette yli hänen määräyksestään Minä olen jättänyt posti toimiston sen käsikirjoituksen jota kaipa ja sen mukana avustus hakemuksen Kuopijosta lainnan hakemuksen jonka olette nostaneet ja lainnan hakemukseksi ikä avustuksen pyyntinä ja tehkä syyti jos loukkan teitä syyttömästi En perränny puheistani. En myös kypsy väärytelle valheille väkivallalle joita näytätte te yhäki käyttävän koska ette usko mulle samoja oikeuksia kun muille kirjailia työn tekijöille.

Kasper Tanntu was also left without any grant or funding whatsoever. He wrote to the FLS in 1913 in the hope of obtaining a grant for collecting ethnological material:

Thank you for your kind letter. I will announce that I am now free from my day job for a few days and would like to use my time for organizing the ethnological materials that I have collected. I thus request that you send me the dialect word notes, at first only 500 copies.

If you could be so kind, please inform them of my poor and needy situation at the meeting of the FLS. I ask you to propose merely a minor sum of money, say 25 or 5 marks. I am a teetotaler, and I subsist on very little—I won't need such vast sums of money for my living as that horrid Lauri Sauramo had received last summer—and still he failed to pay back the money he owed me.¹⁷ (SKS KIA, Tanntu to Dr. Tunkelo, FLS, Oct. 27, 2013)

The margins of the letter bear the FLS secretary's pithy comment: "Not much hope."

I can understand that it is impossible to get paid for any job before it is done, and just for that reason I sent you my poetry collection, trying to point out other accomplishments not necessarily required for a scientific grant. In the spring, I read in the newspapers that the FLS awarded two poor Finnish writers grants, lest they go hungry. This occupied my thoughts while I was writing to you, and at the same time I mentioned that if I manage to earn my living somehow, I will organize the folk poetry collections and assign them to you. But for now there is no way I can make that effort, for all I can think of is how to earn

17 Kiittäen ystävällisestä kirjeestänne ilmoitan, että olen nyt ehkä jonkun päivän leipähuolista vapaa ja haluaisin käyttää sen aikani kansatieteellisten keräysten järjestämiseen. Pyydän siis herra Tohtoria lähettämään minulle murreanalippuja aluksi vain noin 500kpl.

Jos herra tohtori on niin ystävällinen ja esittää puutteenalaisen tilani Suom. Kirj. Seuran kokouksessa, pyydän teitä esittämään vain pienintä mahdollista rahamäärää, esim. 25 tai 5: -. Olenhan ehdottomasti raitis ja mahdollisimman pienen menoarvion mukaan eläjä, enkä siis tarvi sellaisia summia lähestulkoonkaan kuin mitä tuo inhoittava Lauri Sauramo oli viime keväänä saanut ja sittenkin viitti jättää meikäläiselle esim. velkansa maksamatta.

my bread. . . . (SKS KIA Viralliset kirjekokoelmat 102–3, Tanttto to FLS, Oct. 16, 1913)¹⁸

Tanttto’s letter reveals that his previous correspondence failed to achieve what he had hoped, and he justifies his application for a grant. Furthermore, in the next letter he describes the painful discrepancy between public esteem and daily survival.

The other day I read inspiring reviews of my book in the *Työmies* and *Suometar* [Finnish newspapers], but while reading them, I had no money in my wallet . . .

When you know all this, doctor, you’ll understand why I don’t respect the budgets. I thank you from my heart for your goodwill, but now I am too exhausted to work. I don’t have money even for paper. I apologize for complaining and inform you that this will be the first and last time I humble myself to gain a writer’s compassion. It is my own fault—why did I want to be a novelist in this country.

[. . .] – And sorry for my bitterness! It is not intended to you, or anyone in particular, it is only caused by my wretched character.

With respect, K Tanttto. (SKS KIA Viralliset kirjekokoelmat 102–3, Tanttto to FLS, Oct. 16, 1913)¹⁹

In this letter, Tanttto grapples with and explores questions of vocation and control of affects. He tries to articulate the real, tangible problems that writers face in their work and their lives, not to

18 Minä käsitan kyllä, että mistään työstä ei yleensä makseta ennen kuin se on tehty—ja siksi juuri lähetin arv. Seuralle runokirjani tahtoen siten viitata aivan toisiin saavutuksiin kuin mitä tieteelliset stipendit edellyttävät.

Luin keväällä lehdistä että kirjallisuuden Seura antoi kahdelle puutteessa riutuvalla kirjailijalle apurahoja, että eivät aivan menehtyisi. Tätä ajatellen minäkin kirjoitin pyyntöni ja samalla mainitsin, että jos saan joksikin aikaa toimeentuloni turvatuksi, niin järjestän kotiseutu innostuksessa keräämäni hautausrunouden ym. tuotteet ja luovutan arv. Seuralle. Nyt en voi niihin aikaani panna, kun on joka hetki ajateltava leipää . . . (italics added)

19 Toissa iltana oli Työmieheessä ja tänä aamuna Suomettaressa innostavat arvostelut kirjastani, mutta esim. Suomettaren arvostelua lukiessani ei ollut peniäkään kukkarossani . . .

mention the feelings of despair, but, in the end, he takes his words back, possibly fearing that he might appear bitter or aggressive.

The correspondence reveals the writers' strategies for presenting themselves as frugal and righteous people. Kasperri Tanntu sought to demonstrate that he refrained from drinking and was economically prudent. Likewise, Heikki Meriläinen referred to his old age to argue for a larger pension: he even claimed that his years were numbered, so an increase in his pension would never become very costly. Nonetheless, Meriläinen was seventy-six years old when he wrote this letter, and he lived to be ninety-one.

Dear friend Doctor Tarkainen

I am not a beggar or much of anything else

It occurred to me that as the FLS awards grants, for example, last winter, to fellows like Seppo Pukkila, do you think that I would be, in turn, the next one, if ever? This year my situation is worse than ever before. My condition turned for the worse already last summer, and we had to hire help to do all the farm work. Still, frost ruined almost all the grain [. . .]. Because everything is expensive, the small pension is not enough [. . .]. Do you think you could go over and try to raise my pension? In any case, I won't be around much longer, I am already 76 years old. (SKS KIA Viljo Tarkiaisen kirjekokoelma, Meriläinen to FLS, Jan. 13, 1924)²⁰

During the National Romantic era, before achieving its independence, Finland was a class society. The actual classes were the

Tämän tietäen te, herra tohtori, ymmärtänette minua miksi annan palttua kullunkiarvioille. Kiitän sydämellisesti Teidän hyvää tahtoanne, mutta kyllä minä en nyt tosiaankaan jaksa tarrtua työhön. Ei ole edes paperiin rahaa. Pyydän anteeksi valituksiani ja samalla ilmoitan, että tämä on ensimmäinen kun jo viimeinen kerta kun nöyrryn kerjäämään kirjailijan myötätuntoa. Oma syy – miksi rupesin kirjailijaksi tässä maassa.

– . . . - Anteeksi katkeruuteni! Se ei ole teille tarkoitettu – eikä yleensä kenellekään, vain pahan sisun syytä.

Kunnioittaen

K Tanntu.

20 Hyvä tuttuni Herra tohtori V. Tarkainen Helsinki

En ole kerjäläinen enkä paljon muukaan

Olen tullut ajatelleeksi kuin kirjailialiitto aina jakaa lahja avustuksia kuten viime *talvenakin Seppo Pukkilalle, että eiköhän minun vuoroni tulisi koskaan, tänä vuotena olen minä entistä pahemmissa päivissä*. Viimme kesän aikana jo tuli terveyte-

nobility, the clergy, and the burghers. While peasants actually fell outside the classes, the farmers, who owned their own farms, were seen, in a way, also as one of the classes. Moreover, the advances made in education created new classes, and teachers, officers, and clerks were soon also regarded as members of the upper classes, the gentry. Social class was determined by ancestry, and upward class mobility was impermissible and basically unthinkable. This feature of Finnish social and cultural history makes the folk poetry collection project and the construction of the National Romantic culture tremendously interesting. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the class society had begun to break down, and there was a rise of ideas about equality. This awareness, and especially the resistance of the upper classes to it, finally led to a civil war immediately following the country's declaration of independence.

According to the logic of class society, it was the nature of the work that mattered, not the money earned by it. This is one aspect of the story of Aleksis Kivi, the very first national author of Finland. Among farmers, Kivi was seen as a half-gent and thus held in contempt. On the other hand, Kivi was a half-peasant, which appealed to the romantic notions of the established scholars (Sihvo 1997).

As was the case with Kivi, many folklore collectors and writers stood somewhere in between the established social classes. For example, Samuli Paulaharju and Heikki Meriläinen recounted, at least implicitly, the predicament of not fully belonging to either class. This experience produced a feeling of otherness and of being an outsider, which can be discerned in the letters. Moreover, the experience of having an intuitive grasp of the folk mindset contrasted with the feedback given by the established scholars, was another cause for mixed feelings. Paulaharju also appeared to be reluctant to accept jobs or positions of trust offered to him in the capital of Finland, Helsinki, since he lived in Oulu, northern Ostrobothnia, with his family (Harju 1989; Seppä 2015).

Humility and Self-Respect

The collectors and writers repeatedly had to negotiate their payments and agreements. The following quotation accurately sums up the struggles of the early writers and collectors:

ni huonoksi, että maanviljelytyöt täytyi kaikki teettää vieraalla ja kuitenkin halla vei viljat niin tarkoin, että suuta emme tarvitse oman maan viljoille aikasta. Kun kaikki on kallista, niin se pieni eläke hupenee ku kuumille kiville [. . .] Eteköhään te voisi vaikuttaa että valtion eläkkeeni tulisi korotetuksi. Eihän missään tapauksessa aikani ole pitkä; ku 77. Ikävuosi on ellettävänäni . . . (italics added)

I have no other choice but to accept the Society's offer. Otherwise, this thing would be postponed until February. I am in a difficult situation with all my debts and I cannot wait until then.

Of course, I understand that the manuscript will then be the property of the Society, and I will not be able to get it back. But is it true that I could never use it again or summarize it as part of another publication to submit to the Society—that is, if I still were able to do this line of work. (SKS KIA Viralliset kirjekokoelmat 97–98, Paulaharju to FLS, Dec. 4, 1909)²¹

The writer explains his difficult economic situation, which makes any negotiations impossible. Even a small amount of money is better now than later. There seems to be a pattern in the correspondence as well: there are several letters asking for collections that have already been sent to the FLS with the agreed upon monetary compensation yet to be paid.

The collection of drawings I brought to you last Christmas seems to have gone unmentioned in the [Finnish Literature] Society's last meeting, as I haven't heard anything about it. – Is it still possible to get the rest of the grant from the year 1907, 100 Fmk?²² (SKS KIA Viralliset kirjekokoelmat 97–98, Paulaharju to FLS, Feb. 10, 1910)

Conclusions: The Past and the Present

While the folklore material was ideally seen as collective and archaic, the correspondence connected to the work of collecting reveals a wholly new and different viewpoint on the construction of the National Romantic culture. In their letters, the writers to the

21 Mutta sittenkään ei taida minulla nykyään olla muuta neuvua kuin hyväksyä seuran tarjous. *Muutenhan lykkäytyisi asia vielä helmikuuhun asti ja vaikeissa velkojen suorituksessa tätä nykyä olen en saata enää niin kauvan odottaa.*

Sen kyllä ymmärrän, että käsikirjoitus jää sitten Arv. Seuran omaksi, enkä voi sitä enää ruveta takaisin vaatimaan. Mutta onko se sitten käsitettävä niin, etten saisi sitä enää käyttää tai siitä muodostaa supistetumpaa esitystä arv. Seuralle vastedes tarjottavaksi painettavaksi – jos siis siihen työhön pystyisin. (*italics added*)

22 Viime joulun aikana tuomani piirustus kokoelma ei näy ollenkaan eritettynä Seuran viime kokouksessa, koska ei ole mitään siitä kuulunut – Voisinkohan kuitenkin saada 1907 vuoden stipendijäännöksen 100mk.

FLS unveil their private lives: the livelihoods of their families, their children, illnesses, their life expectancies, debts, and other misfortunes. Hence, the general uncertainty intertwines with their work and—in the end, from the vantage point of the present—with the cultural tradition and heritage. This is familiar in the lives of many twenty-first-century researchers: working life and private life are mutually intertwined, thus producing circles of uncertainty. On the one hand, one is expected to be affective and emotionally involved in one's work; on the other hand, one also must be able to control affections, in the context of positive and negative emotions. In the correspondence discussed in this article, the writers express an affective commitment to advancing the cause of the culture and the *fatherland*—but also to making known the negative emotions and affections concerning the uncertainty and the economic conditions of their work and other issues. Furthermore, they tone down their emotional responses to these circumstance, or even take them back, recognizing the potential harm they may bring upon themselves if they express themselves openly.

Taking part in the construction of the national narrative in Finland appears as a noble privilege, but it also included a great responsibility concerning not only the quality of the material, but also the survival of the collectors. The collectors were expected to be committed to the national project, but there were no promises of honor or even the coverage of expenses. The individual builders of the Finnish national narrative were aware of these tensions and experienced them in their work, as well as in the gap between the public sphere of romantic speeches and the drudgery of their daily lives.

In brief, the correspondence examined in this article reveals the material, immaterial, and unglamorous part of nation-building before independence. It shows that there was mundane agency alongside nationalism or noble idealism. It also reflects at some level the political and social movements surrounding the issue of estates and, later, social classes. The idea of constructing the Finnish nation and Finnish culture was set up by the upper classes, but the lower classes were needed for it to be fulfilled. Hence, the correspondence also includes bitter tones.

Archival Materials

SKS KIA (Finnish Literature Society, Archives of Literature and Cultural History): Letters of Juho Fr. Isopere, Helvi Kainulainen, Ruupert Kainulainen, A. Kinnunen, Ida Sofia Kumpulainen, Heikki Meriläinen, Samuli Paulaharju, Kasperi Tanttu, and letters of the correspondence of Kaarle Krohn and Viljo Tarkiainen, located in the collections as follows:

SKSKIASKS:n kirjeenvaihtoa (FLS Literature Archives correspondence)

SKS KIA keruukirjeenvaihto 59–60 (Collecting correspondence).

SKS KIA Viljo Tarkiaisen kirjekokoelma 199–206. (FLS Tarkiainen correspondence).

SKS KIA Virallinen kirjeenvaihto 97–98 (MF 2003: 15) (Official correspondence).

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The Järnefelts, Finnish National Romanticism, and Sibelius

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Abstract

The family of General, Governor, and Senator August Alexander Järnefelt (1833–96) was remarkable for the members' combined cultural leadership and their powerful influence on the arts during a time of growing Finnish nationalism in the late nineteenth century. A look at their lives and works shows how Sibelius, married to the daughter Aino, also became caught up in their endeavors and chose a similar path. But for them, he may have gone a different way and missed the overwhelming public acclaim for his nationalist musical works.

Introduction

About 1888, a friendship developed between Jean Sibelius and his fellow music student Armas Järnefelt, who took him along to the open-house evenings for Finnish-speaking young artists, authors, musicians, and political liberals, given by Armas's mother, Elisabeth Järnefelt. The Järnefelt family was a microcosm of the cultural and artistic trends of the 1880s in Finland, with sons who went on to become famous in their fields. Their enthusiastic promotion of the Finnish language, of the welfare of the Finnish-speaking lower class, of Finnish mythology and arts, and of the newly accepted Finnish-language literature was a great source of inspiration for Sibelius, to an extent perhaps not even fully recognized today. It also would bring him a new family of his own through marriage with the daughter, Aino Järnefelt. Exploring the family members' interests and accomplishments, even briefly, will show how remarkable they were and how fortunate Sibelius was to gain them as family and as intellectual colleagues.

Finland in the 1880s was still in an uneasy transition to Russian rule begun only decades earlier. From the twelfth century, Finland had belonged to Sweden and then was lost to Russia in 1809 in one of the many Swedish-Russian wars often fought on the intervening Finnish soil. The Swedish language, culture, laws, and religious practices had been imposed for centuries on the lower class of uneducated Finnish-speaking peasants by the Swedish-speaking landowners, descendants of Swedes rewarded with land grants. The official and prevailing language of the landowners and educated remained Swedish through the 1800s; in order to get ahead, the members of the lower class of Finnish speakers needed to gain a Swedish education and identify themselves with upper-class values, often even changing their names to Swedish equivalents to do so. Finnish-language elementary schools had not even been available to the lower class until 1856 (Lavery 2006, 61). However, by the late nineteenth century, with a change in the political climate, things had changed, with names changed from Swedish to Finnish (Mether 2000). Russia, though originally granting Finland the status of an autonomous Grand Duchy after 1809, grew more and more impatient with the lack of assimilation of the Finns into Russian culture. From the 1881 ascension of Alexander III through the Declaration of Independence in 1917, Russian lawmakers began to assert more direct rule, which was greatly resented by the Finns. The Russians eventually took over tariffs and the postal service, required compulsory military service, reduced the power of the Finnish Diet, and suspended the Finnish Constitution. Very few Swedish or Finnish speakers wanted to learn Russian or support Russification unless their position required it (Lavery 2006, 73).

In 1885, at the age of nineteen, Sibelius went off to Helsinki to study and found himself not only in the middle of class discrimination between the Swedish- and Finnish-language groups with the growing development of Finnish culture, but also in the middle of the political tensions with the Russian authorities. He enrolled as a law student at the university to please his family, but soon abandoned that for his simultaneous enrollment at the Music Institute, founded three years earlier, in 1882, by Martin Wegelius. Sibelius hoped to be a virtuoso violinist, but stage fright and better success at composition pointed him in a different direction. For his first few years of study, his friends were mainly Swedish-speaking, as was Sibelius's family. His Finnish-language skills, even so, were quite comfortable, as his forward-thinking widowed mother had enrolled Sibelius at both a Finnish-language primary and a newly opened

secondary school in Hämeenlinna, his birth place (Tawaststjerna 1976, 16).

Sibelius's father, Christian Gustaf Sibelius, was a Swedish-speaking military doctor, who in turn was the son of a merchant descended from Finnish-speaking farmers. Sibelius's mother, Maria Borg, came from Swedish-speaking teachers and priests in the Lutheran church. Sibelius's paternal forebears had Latinized their surname and moved to various Finnish- and Swedish-speaking locales, confusing his language origin. At the height of the language controversy, these distinctions were socially important. Whichever group was predominant in the Sibelius family history, Jean Sibelius was definitely not from the upper class of landowners (Tawaststjerna 1976, 2–7).

Alexander Järnefelt

The head of the Järnefelt family, August Alexander (1833–96), was born into a Swedish land-owning family of nobility in northern Karelia, a Finnish-speaking area in northeast Finland. He became influential as a governor, equivalent to an American state governor. About the time of his birth, Finland was both surprised and gratified by the publication of the *Kalevala* in 1835, a compilation of Finnish mythological poetry previously unknown to most, showing centuries of a Finnish folk heritage. This event awakened a new sense of pride in being Finnish, showing that Finland, too, like Greece, Iceland, England, Germany, and other countries, had a long folk literature. Alexander became an avid promoter of the Finnish language and culture. Since Finland was under Russian rule, Alexander was trained by the Russian military in St. Petersburg and eventually became a general. He was a topologist, a mapmaker, and responsible for maps of some Finnish provinces. He served in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, one of several such wars, and mapped Russian territory gained from Turkey. In St. Petersburg, he met and married his wife, Elisabeth Clodt, from the strong German community there. Although he was born a Swedish-speaking aristocrat, Alexander chose to speak only Finnish at home and sent his children to Finnish-language schools. In the middle of the Swedish-Finnish language and class controversy of the later part of the nineteenth century, his views were often socially uncomfortable. From 1883 on, Alexander Järnefelt was successively appointed a provincial governor of Mikkeli and Kuopio, Finnish-speaking areas, and finally Vaasa, a Swedish-speaking province (Tawaststjerna 1976, 42).

Elisabeth Järnefelt

Elisabeth (Clodt von Jürgensburg) Järnefelt (1839–1929), the mother, married Alexander in St. Petersburg and soon moved with him to a series of Finnish cities which must have seemed like “the backwoods” to a native of glittering St. Petersburg. Well educated in the German and Russian languages, she chose to learn Finnish rather than Swedish and was kept busy by raising nine children. In 1888, waiting for their Vaasa governor’s residence to be ready gave her an excuse to live in Helsinki for a year or so. There she entertained her sons and their friends at Finnish-language literary, musical, and political salons which included the author Juhani Aho and the Sibelius brothers, Jean, a violinist, and Christian, a cellist (Tawaststjerna 1976, 42–43). The writers involved submitted their essays on agreed topics to mutual criticism and were introduced by Elisabeth to the writings of the Russian realists, including Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, and Turgenev (Laitinen 1993). She was particularly enthusiastic about the ideals of Tolstoy. The author of *War and Peace* (1869) and *Anna Karenina* (1878), Tolstoy had had a spiritual awakening by the late 1870s, and his writings then advocated a simple Christian life of non-resistance, poverty, and chastity. Tolstoy’s pacifist views, called Christian Anarchy, were opposed to the teachings of the Orthodox Church, the system of aristocratic land-owning, and the corruption of the government. All of this made him somewhat of an outcast, but his ideals were widely discussed internationally, and they even led to an exchange of letters with Gandhi (Tolstoy and Gandhi, 1909–10).

Literature in the Finnish language is said to have begun with Aleksis Kivi, author of the plays *Kullervo* (1864) and *Nummisuutarit* (The Heath Cobblers, 1864), and the novel *Seitsemän veljestä* (Seven Brothers, 1870). Kivi received a harsh reception from the established and conservative Swedish-speaking critics, who said that neither the crude subject of peasants nor the crude Finnish language was acceptable. For Russian-born Elisabeth Järnefelt to have been so well informed about the literary trends of the day and for her ability to gather and inspire young Finnish writers she has been called “the mother of Finnish literature” (Laitinen 1993).

Ferruccio Busoni

It was the Järnefelt sons who brought Sibelius into their Finnish cultural circle, through their connection with the virtuoso pianist, Ferruccio Busoni. In 1888, the twenty-two-year-old Italian/German composer and virtuoso pianist arrived along with his big

black Newfoundland dog, Lesko, to begin his first teaching position at the Helsinki Music Institute. Busoni's lively personality and his already established performing career soon attracted a group of music students to frequent gatherings at local bars and restaurants. Since these informal music sessions were quietly presided over by Busoni's dog, the students dubbed themselves "the Leskovites." A later similar gathering that included Sibelius was immortalized in Akseli Gallen-Kallela's famous painting, "Symposium" (1894). Speaking in German, the Leskovites also discussed the arts of the day and international trends, listened to Busoni's large repertoire, improvised at the piano for one another at the urging of Busoni despite the level of their skills, and stirred their own creative ideas in what could have been considered a graduate-student seminar. Busoni and his students all later became famous in their fields: Busoni, the great virtuoso pianist and arranger of the music of J. S. Bach; Sibelius, Finland's most famous composer; Armas Järnefelt, opera conductor and composer; Armas's brother Eero Järnefelt, portrait and landscape painter; and Adolf Paul, a music student who became a novelist and playwright (Tawaststjerna 1976, 45).

Busoni's thoughts on the Leskovites were summed up in his composition, the *Geharnischte Suite* (The Armored Suite), Op. 34a, conducted in its first version by Busoni in Helsinki in 1890, and published later in 1905 by Breitkopf and Härtel. Each movement was dedicated to one of "the four friends of Lesko at Helsinki." The title refers to the Leskovites' consideration of themselves as being like Don Quixote—armored zealots. The Leskovites were much amused by Turgenev's 1850 essay characterizing people either as Hamlet, a self-doubting skeptic, or Don Quixote, an aristocratic zealot (Goss 2009, 95). The first movement, Vorspiel (Prelude), dedicated to Sibelius, has been described as "severe in measured, martial-like rhythms, rather dark in colouring" (Leichentritt 1917, 75), and elsewhere as "flurries of mad action alternating with episodes of quiescent meditation" (Goss 2009, 95). The second movement is Kriegstanz (War Dance), dedicated to Adolf Paul; the third, Grabdenkmal (Gravestone), to Armas Järnefelt; and the finale, Ansturm (Assault), to Eero Järnefelt. We can only assume that Busoni felt he had captured the essence of each person's personality.

Armas Järnefelt

Armas Järnefelt (1869–1958), four years younger than Sibelius, became a piano student of Busoni in 1888 and was Sibelius's fellow Leskovite. By introducing Sibelius to his mother's salons



Figure 1. Armas Järnefelt, 1939. Photograph of a painting by Wilho Sjöström (d. 1944). The original painting was commissioned and owned by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat. A second version of the painting was given by Sjöström to Armas Järnefelt. It became the property of the Armas Järnefelt Society, which donated it to the Sibelius Academy. Permission to use a photograph of the second version of the painting has been given by Armas Järnefelt's grandson Mikko Sajari. Photograph by Mikko Sajari. Sibelius Academy, courtesy of the Armas Järnefelt Society.

and to his sister Aino, he unknowingly set his friend on his future path. Armas went abroad for further study in 1890 to 1894, first to Berlin and then a year in Paris. With his marriage to Maikki Pakarinen, a Wagnerian singer later married to pianist and composer Selim Palmgren, Armas and Maikki worked together at various German opera companies. Returning to Finland, Armas worked as an orchestral conductor and producer of operas in Helsinki. He toured Europe as Maikki's accompanist, and served a year as director of the Helsinki Music Institute, as well as a composition teacher. Armas eventually had a long career as conductor at the Swedish Opera in Stockholm, beginning in 1905. Also highly respected in Finland, he was the artistic director and conductor of the Finnish National Opera from 1932 to 1936, where he, an avid

Wagner admirer, presented several Wagnerian operas. For a year, from 1942 to 1943, he was the principal conductor of the Helsinki Philharmonic. After that he returned to the Royal Swedish Opera as chief conductor for the rest of his career.

As a composer he wrote an early symphonic poem, *Korsholma* (1894), many solo songs, choral works, and several large cantatas. He became internationally famous for his two orchestral miniatures, *Berceuse* (1894) and *Preludium* (1900). Later in life he admitted that he admired the works of Sibelius so much that he felt unable to compose after hearing them (Snellman-Borenius 1965, 351–52). Sibelius was fortunate to have a fellow student as musically gifted as Armas to share the years of their studies together and then to have as a family member, admirer, and lifelong friend (Hillila and Hong 1997).

Eero Järnefelt

Eero Järnefelt (1863–1937), two years older than Sibelius, studied painting in Helsinki, in St. Petersburg, and in Paris, returning to Finland in 1888. He also joined the Leskovites for a time and brought his experiences of international art trends to the conversations. Soon he began many trips to the woods and lakes of Karelia in eastern Finland, thought to be the home of the *Kalevala*. The area was a desirable destination for young nationalistic Finnish artists, writers, and musicians. Sibelius later took Aino there on their honeymoon, funded by a grant to collect folk music (Tawaststjerna 1976, 121). In 1901 Eero built a home at Lake Tuusula in an art-



Figure 2. Eero Järnefelt, 1928. Photograph by Salon Strindberg, courtesy of the National Board of Antiquities, Finland.

ists' colony at Järvenpää, where Juhani Aho, writer, and Pekka Halonen, painter, had settled. Sibelius was to move there also in 1904 (Tawaststjerna 1976, 146). Of the two Järnefelt Leskovite brothers, Eero became perhaps the closest friend of Sibelius, as well as neighbor and brother-in-law.

Eero became one of Finland's best-known portrait and landscape artists. His painting of the young slim Sibelius in a dapper checked suit and a full shock of red hair shows how the composer appeared in 1892, the year of his marriage to Aino. Perhaps more dramatic is the large oil painting *The Wage Slaves* (1893), or *Burning the Brushwood*, an example of Finnish Realism.



Figure 3. *The Wage Slaves* (or, *Burning the Brushwood*), 1893. Original title *Raatajat rahanalaiset*, or *Kaski*. Photograph by Hannu Aaltonen. Original painting is located in the Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

Järnefelt painted this outdoors using their neighbors as models. The painting depicts the process of clearing a field for planting by slash burning as well as the poverty of such workers. The main figure is a soot-covered young girl with a halo of white smoke around her face, which calls attention to her pitiful condition and gives the work a religious interpretation, idolizing the exploited Finnish peasants (Facos 2011, 269).



Figure 4. Arvid Järnefelt, 1890.
Photograph by Daniel Nyblin,
courtesy of the National Board
of Antiquities Picture Archive,
Finland.

Arvid Järnefelt

Arvid Järnefelt (1861–1932), four years older than Sibelius, became a lawyer and writer. By the years of the Leskovites, he was already married, a father, and soon, in 1889, a co-founder of the Helsinki Finnish-language newspaper *Päivälehti*, which became today's *Helsingin Sanomat*. Like his mother Elisabeth, greatly influenced by the writings and ideals of Tolstoy, Arvid gave up law and became a farmer as well as a writer.

He wrote eleven novels in the genre of Realism, as well as short stories, memoirs, and ten plays, including his symbolist play *Kuolema* (Death) in 1903, for which Sibelius wrote incidental music, including the famous *Valse Triste*. The *Valse Triste* accompanies a scene in which a sick woman sees Death in the shape of her husband, joins him in a dance, and dies (Siren et al., n.d.). Arvid Järnefelt's first novel, *Isänmaa* (Fatherland, 1893), captured a great deal of attention. It has as a main character a young man, a first-generation educated Finnish speaker, who gives up his inherited farm and his father's rural lifestyle (Laitinen 1993). Books and speeches around the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1917 cost Arvid a year or more in jail before he was pardoned. Overall, his writings were considered so valuable that he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in literature in 1930 by Professor Oiva Tallgren of the University of Helsinki. Though not as close to Sibelius as the other two brothers, his views, his writings, the family connection, and his lifestyle undoubtedly made a strong impression on his brother-in-law.



Figure 5. Aino Järnefelt, ca. 1894. Photo by Daniel Nyblin, courtesy of the National Board of Antiquities, Finland.

Aino Järnefelt

Aino (1871–1969) shared some gifts and interests of her parents and brothers, did some translating, wrote some short stories published in *Päivälehti*, developed an interest in Tolstoy, and played the piano (Tawaststjerna 1976, 44). At first meeting at the Järnefelt home, Sibelius could not help but stare at seventeen-year-old Aino, and she, in turn, became flustered (43). Sibelius had yet to finish his Helsinki studies and had no income. The same year when they met, in 1889, Sibelius left for a scholarship year in Berlin, with no commitment to Aino. After Sibelius returned to Finland in the summer of 1890, Aino and Sibelius became secretly engaged. A further scholarship year in Vienna then followed for him. The couple was able to keep up their relationship through frequent correspondence, with Sibelius writing fluently in Swedish but requesting her to respond in Finnish. In Vienna, Sibelius reread the *Kalevala*, which he had studied as a boy in school, and began to realize the possibilities of *Kalevala* chant and mythology for his compositions. With the success of Sibelius's *Kalevala*-inspired *Kullervo* for chorus, soloists, and orchestra in 1892 as well as teaching opportunities to provide income, the couple were married with her father's blessing. One has to wonder at the father's confidence in a young man who had, at that point, only a few successes as a composer and who planned to support his bride and family as a musician. Sibelius did, indeed, later have enormous success as a composer, surpassing every possible hope his father-in-law may have had, but he also had near constant financial problems.

Aino was quiet and unassuming, yet strong. She continued to believe in Sibelius through both prosperous and lean times, his times of optimism and depression, imagined and real illnesses, nights on end when he was caught up with his friends at various

establishments, with his absences during concert tours, and through the effort of keeping six children quiet while he composed. Moving to Järvenpää in 1904, they named their home Ainola, after her. Marital harmony and financial stability were difficult, despite the distance from Helsinki distractions. In 1908, a throat operation convinced Sibelius to give up alcohol for a number of years, a relief for Aino. However, it was no small task dealing with a creative husband who needed many concessions in order to work and also had no good steady source of income. In 1897 Sibelius was given an annual award from the state, which then in 1907, remarkably, became a permanent pension for life (Tawaststjerna 1976, 197). Aino's stoicism and belief in Sibelius prevailed through sixty-five years of marriage.

Conclusion

A family such as the Järnefelts would have been considered most fortunate to have had one successful son. But they had three, all in different fields—music conducting and composition, painting, and Finnish literature—and none of these skills had been passed directly from the parents. The mother, Elisabeth, did indeed have two famous relatives in St. Petersburg: her brother, the painter Mikhail Clodt, and her uncle, the sculptor Peter Clodt. She herself was not an artist nor author but a literary patron. Fortunately, the Järnefelt parents were well educated and in a position to encourage these talents in their children and recognize their value. In Sibelius they must have seen a potential to further all their Finnish cultural interests and goals and welcomed him wholeheartedly into their family fold.

During Sibelius's student years in Helsinki he was swept into the Järnefelt environment and became aware of all the possibilities that the Finnish-language culture had to offer a composer. After the success of *Kullervo* in 1892, he produced a great outpouring of *Kalevala*-related compositions: *En Saga* (1892), *Karelia Suite* (1894), *Rakastava* (The Lover, 1894), *Skogsrådet* (The Wood Nymph, 1895), *Lemminkäinen and the Maidens of Saari* (1895), and *The Swan of Tuonela* (1895). With the growing repression of the Russian government during the 1890s and into the early twentieth century, Helsinki audiences were ready to be reminded that they had a heritage of heroes and songs to be proud of. And, paraphrasing the famous quote attributed to A. I. Arwidsson (1791–1858), they understood it was time to cease being Swedes, to make little or no attempt to become Russians, and perhaps dream

of being what they had never been, independent Finns. Besides the programmatic titles and depictions easily understood by the audience, Sibelius's music, though never using actual folk songs, captured the rhythms, stresses, and contours of the Finnish language, as well as the narrow range and reiteration of the *Kalevala* chant in a manner never previously done in Finnish concert music. In later years, Sibelius turned to symphonies and despaired of being pegged as merely a nationalist (Tawaststjerna 1976, 243). Even so, he was to compose numerous further works depicting the *Kalevala* stories and the mysterious Finnish landscape described in it.

Sibelius's early compositional impetus, in addition to his studies, was greatly influenced by the connections with the Järnefelts and Busoni. A casual invitation from his friend Armas Järnefelt proved to be a decisive event of lasting consequence. The many evenings at the Järnefelt salons provided a wealth of ideas to develop; the great discussions and tentative piano improvisations with Busoni and his two Järnefelt Leskovite drinking pals provided opportunities to sound out possibilities; a love-struck first evening with Aino led to a lifetime of marital understanding and encouragement; and the blessings of her father and mother on their marriage gave him entrance to the Järnefelt family. Without these people sharing their interests and passions, Sibelius may have gone in a completely different direction as a composer. Truly, Sibelius was fortunate to have the support of such friends and family. He was, at times, likely a difficult man for them all to be connected with, but his immense fame and success proved their encouragement to be eminently worthwhile.

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Shipwreck in the Sea of Life: Sea Voyage in Aleksis Kivi's *Seven Brothers*

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Abstract

The article examines a hidden political dimension to Aleksis Kivi's *Seven Brothers* (1870), analyzing the motifs of the sea voyage and, in particular, the classic Platonic ship-of-state parable, as these motifs are re-used in the novel as images of power and control (or the lack of such). The rhetorical motif sequence is finally examined in connection to the political crisis of 1860s Finland as the Fennoman movement split into power factions and encountered destructive power struggles.

Shipwreck in the Sea of Life

In an often-quoted letter written in November 1868 to his close friend Kaarlo Bergbom, Aleksis Kivi, the great humorist of Finnish literature, explains, with the aid of a common image, the kind of humor he enjoys. "As I now mention humor," Kivi writes, "I mean the fresh humor that rises from nature, not the ailing one whose source is a shipwreck in the sea of life. I mean comedy that is founded in a good, strong, and healthy heart." (Kivi 2013, 275; translated by the author)

By linking the image of a *shipwreck* to another metaphor of the *sea of life*, Kivi refers to the traumatic experience of a personal disaster that had occurred in his private life, though we do not know with any certainty quite what happened.¹ But the shipwreck

1 There is a decisive turn in Kivi's moods sometime after 1866, and he repeats the image in a later letter (June 1870) to Bergbom (Kivi 2013, 326). The turn has been a springboard for biographical speculation because the author does not refer

is also an established epic, novelistic, and Biblical motif that is present in both literary and visual arts in the nineteenth century; with its frequent use, it became a symbol of great metaphysical, social, and geographical disaster (Daemmrich and Daemmrich 1987, 234; Goedde 1989, 25–45; Thompson 2014, 4–15). This is the topical frame and the rhetorical source for Kivi, which he used in his plays *Karkurit* (1867), *Canzio*, and *Alma* (the latter two presumably written in 1866–68).

In Kivi's novel *Seven Brothers*, the reader may appreciate the motif as it is employed by Aapo in his farewell speech on the hill at Teerimäki:²

Thanks to be to God who leads us, to ourselves, who chose wisdom while there was still time, and to our mother, who reminded us of God's will and law in our childhood days. Some word or two of hers always sank deep in to our hearts, from which a warning voice constantly whispered in our ears through the wildest storms. It kept our lives from sinking in shipwreck. (Kivi 1991 [SB], 283)³

Aapo refers to the unruly life the brothers have lived for years in Impivaara, where they moved in order to build a “new world.” The utopian project drives the brothers to a catastrophe crystallized in the Hiidenkivi episode where they shoot Viertola's thirty-three bulls dead to save their own lives. The episode is also a turning

to any concrete event or experience which caused his melancholic moods. See, for example, Ervasti (1965), who understands the shipwreck as a breakdown of Weltanschauung, and Kauppila (2003), who argues for disappointment in a love affair.

2 In this article I use the generic term novel for the sake of convenience. The Finnish subtitle of *Seven Brothers* is “a tale” (kertomus), not a novel (romaani), as in Impola's translation (1991). The question of genre is a controversial issue in the criticism of *Seven Brothers*. Modern research tends to lean on other terms: Kinnunen (1974) defines its genre as a “comic epic”; Lyytikäinen (2004) suggests it is a “hybrid” (of novel and epic).

3 “Kiitos Jumalalle, joka meitä johdatti, kiitos meille itsellemme, jotka tahdoimme ajoissa viisastua, kiitos äitillemme, joka lapsuutemme päivinä muistutteli meille Jumalan tahtoa ja lakia! Hänen lauseistansa painui aina yksi ja toinen sydämemme syvyyteen, josta varoittava ääni alati kuiskasi meitä korvaan, kuiskasi halki hurjimpain myrskyin, ja elomme alus ei vaipunutkaan haaksirikkoon” (Kivi [1870] 1944, 379; referred to as “SV” below). The English translation by Richard A. Impola (Kivi 1991) has been used in the text citations and is referred to as “SB”. A new translation by Douglas Robinson (*The Brothers Seven: A Tale*. Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2016) did not come to my knowledge until this article was submitted.

point in the brothers' lives, as they have to pay dearly for the bulls. This responsibility changes their way of life. They have to leave behind a life based on freedom and pleasure and begin to live a work-oriented and well-organized life.

In Aapo's naval tropology, the shipwreck belongs to a larger family of closely related motifs in which man's life is understood as a narrative sequence. This story scheme includes several conventionalized motifs or type-scenes. There is a *sailor* or a *ship* sailing in the *sea*; the ship may be driven into a *storm* that may lead to a *shipwreck*; and, unless man finds a saving *island* in the midst of seas, the threat of *drowning* is real; the happy traveler will find his goal in the secure *home harbor*. All these motifs are units in the narrative topic of the *sea voyage* dating back to the eighteenth-century novel and all the way back to the ancient Greek epic and novel (see Bakhtin 1981, 87–88; Edwards 1992, 313–14; Doody 1996, 327–29).

The topic of the sea voyage is, thus, constructed from a family of interconnected motifs, *Motivkreis* as German scholars of *Stoffgeschichte* have called it. But it may also serve as a story-scheme composed in an extended *motif sequence*, if the motifs occur in linear order over a longer text sequence:⁴

Sailor/Ship > Sailing > Storm > Shipwreck > Drowning/Island > Harbor

What are the traditional meanings attached to this age-old sequence and complex of motifs? The association of the sailor and the ship with shipwreck and failure is always an image of an existential situation in which the future holds the promise of shaping destiny but also portends potential failure. The sequence always points to the insecurity of existence (Daemmrigh and Daemmrigh 1987, 232–33). Beside individual existential problems, the sequence has also functioned effectively in narratives that represent community efforts to establish a new basis for existence such as *The Satyricon*, *The Tempest*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Candide*. The utopian topic of a “new world” is closely linked to the motifs of ship, storm, and

4 Nagler (1974, 112) defines the *motif sequence* as a “recurring sequence of common *motifs*—each subdivisible into elements and capable of functioning independently—which seems to acquire a meaning of its own.” The motif (such as the sailor) is equivalent to the *type-scene* (such as storm) which, according to Edwards (1992, 285), is a “recurrent block of narrative with an identifiable structure.”

shipwreck, which for their part have a long-lived political content in literary and philosophical tradition (Thompson 2014, 2, 7–8).⁵

In Kivi's 450-page novel, the motif sequence of the sea voyage is manifested as a "narrative skeleton," that is, an abstract linear structure running through the story, appearing in major episodes and turns of plot as visible rhetorical clusters in the dialogue. The characters of the novel—mostly Aapo and Juhani—use naval motifs as a rhetorical device and a commentary on their own doings and plans, experiences and memories, through which a larger web of meanings from various religious, philosophical, literary, and political sources enter into the story.⁶

In what follows, I will focus on this dual nature of the image complex and motif cluster in *Seven Brothers*. How does Kivi build up the pattern of naval motifs as they manifest themselves in the linear progress of the plot and how does the gradual patterning accumulate to form the existential and political themes of the novel?⁷

Sailing in the World: The Existential Condition of Man

Heroic Seafarer

The *sailor* or *seafarer* is a key motif in Kivi's work, where it is frequently used to characterize men who go out into the world. In *Seven Brothers* the motif is introduced and presented for the first time as a minor character, the blind uncle of the Jukola brothers, is introduced in the exposition:

[T]he boys' uncle [. . .] was a fine man too. He had traveled distant seas as *a proud young sailor, had seen many nations and cities*, but had become stone-blind and was spending the dark days of his old age in the Jukola house. Often [. . .] he told stories to his sisters' sons, regaling them with

5 The space does not allow me to present here the findings of Matti Hyvärinen's two insightful analyses (2003, 2004) of politics and power in *Seven Brothers*. They make an interesting parallel with my approach. Hyvärinen focuses on concrete power concepts such as *isänmaa* 'fatherland', *kansalainen* 'citizen', *kan-sakunta* 'nation', and *valta* 'power' used in the novel and does not pay attention to political metaphors and imagery, let alone the literary and philosophical allusions, which are the concern of my article.

6 On the rhetorical use of shipwreck and storm, see Goedde 1989, 25–45; Steiner 2012; Dunsch 2014. Kivi had used the topic of sea-storm in a poem entitled "Storm" (1866). See Riikonen 2017, 32–38 and notes 24 and 34 below.

7 On the idea of themes emerging through the accumulation of interconnected motifs, see Rimmon-Kenan 1995, 14–17.

accounts of wonderful events both at home and abroad, with Biblical tales and happenings. (SB, 2; emphasis mine)⁸

The presentation of this seemingly trivial figure has several functions in the novel. First of all, it reveals a model and source for the composition of *Seven Brothers* (Koskimies 1934; Nummi 2002). The description of the uncle's present and past life alludes to the beginning of the *Odyssey* in which the singer or bard appeals to the Muses as follows:

Sing me of the man, Muse, the man of twists and turns
driven time and again off course, once he had plundered
the hallow heights of Troy.

Many cities of men he saw and learned their minds,
many pains he suffered, heartsick on open sea,
fighting to save his life and bring his comrades home.

(Homer 1997, 77 [I:1–5])⁹

The motif of sea travel and experience of the naval world serves as a generic signal to the epic genre and conventions that Kivi uses in *Seven Brothers* (see Koskimies 1934). The allusion also activates the presence of the epic protagonist, Ulysses, the archetypal adventurer of the seas, the man of many “twists and turns.” Through this allusive connection, Kivi equates the brothers’ uncle, who has also traveled “distant seas” and also seen “many nations and cities” as “a proud young sailor,” to the Homeric hero.

But he is not only a representative of the heroic adventurer. As an old man who has lost his sight and a teller of vast imaginative adventures, the uncle also reminds the reader of Homer, the fabulous blind singer of the *Odyssey*. Furthermore, his wide sphere of knowledge includes tales “of wonderful events both at home

8 “Kelpo mies oli myös [. . .] poikien oiva eno, joka nuoruudessaan oli *uljaana merimiehenä purjehtinut kaukaiset meret, nähnyt monta kansaa ja kaupunkia*; mutta näkönsäpä kadotti hän viimein, *käyden umpisokeaksi*, ja vietti ikänsä pimeät päivät Jukolan talossa. Hän silloin usein [. . .] kertoili sisarensa pojille tarinoita ja merkillisiä asioita sekä omasta maasta että vieraista valtakunnista, kertoili myös ihmeitä ja tapauksia raamatusta.” (SV, 17; emphasis mine)

9 Translated by Robert Fagles. Kivi read Homer in Swedish translation: “Sångmö! förtälj om den Mannen, den mångförslagne som irrat / vida omkring, så snart han förstört den heliga Troja / Många människors seder har känt och städer beskådat, / Och i sitt hjerta lidit på hafvet så många bekymmer, / Omsorgsfull för sig sjelf och för Reskamraternas hemfärd!” (Homeros 1819–21, 1–5)

and abroad, with Biblical tales and happenings” (SB, 2). During the nineteenth century, with the enormous popularity of the great Greek epic, Homer became the prototype and model for the artistic and scholarly descriptions of “original” Finnish singers of folk poetry (see Knuuttila 1994, 109–21). As a distant representative of Homer, the uncle also serves as a source of knowledge for the brothers and as a true mentor who sends these young boys out into the seas of the world (Nummi 2002, 59–60).

The role of the blind uncle in the motif sequence is to evoke the presence of the topic of sea voyage in *Seven Brothers*. As a model of real adventure, he also represents the heroic nature of man, ready to face all the challenges that sailing on the vast and stormy seas may present. It is this heroic ideal that Juhani refers to when he uses the term for the first time in a conversation between the brothers as they make their way to Impivaara.

Juhani: Man is just a sailor on the stormy seas of life. And so we sail our land schooner from the dear nook where we were born through woods that lead men astray to the steep isle of Impivaara. Ah me!

Timo: I could almost cry, toad that I am. (SB, 88)¹⁰

Juhani defines man in terms of seafaring as “sailor” and life in terms of the “stormy sea.” He also describes their horse wagon as a “land schooner” and presents the “isle” of Impivaara as their goal.

This series of tropes of the sea voyage is presented here first as a motif cluster, so that the readers can recognize it in meaningful relation to the variety of uses of the trope that they will encounter throughout the narrative ahead. Furthermore, it is the existential condition of a heroic man that Juhani is anticipating: in moving to Impivaara, inspired by the blind uncle’s fantastic stories, the brothers are looking for exciting adventures.

Miserable Wanderer

Along with the brave *seafarer*, a complementary figure is presented immediately after the dialogue above. He is introduced for the first

10 “Juhani. Ihminen on merenkulkija elämän myrskyisellä merellä. Niinhän mekin nyt purjehdimme armaista syntymänurkistamme pois, purjehdimme vankurilaivallamme eksyttävien metsien halki Impivaaran jyrkkää saarta kohden. Ah! Timo. Eihän paljon puutu, etten tuhri kyyneleitä poskiltani, minä sammakko kanssa.” (SV, 130)

time at the beginning of the novel by the brother Timo, who reacts to Juhani's complaints about the fate of man:

Juhani: Why, oh, why was I ever born?

Timo: I too was born to be a miserable wanderer here. Why couldn't I have seen the light of day as a hare-lipped bunny under that spruce tree over there? (SB 39)¹¹

Timo underlines the difference between man and animal (a contrast that grows into another major theme in the novel; see Nummi 2002, 86–92). The same figure pops up again as Timo reacts to the elder brother's grand rhetoric of seafaring.

Juhani continues by providing a parallel definition of man's worldly existence.

Juhani: That doesn't surprise me, when I look into my own heart at this sad moment. But crying does no good in this world. Harden your heart like a rock. Man was born a *wanderer*; he has no lasting rest here.

Timo: He wanders, he is tossed to and fro a little while, and in the end, he sags and sinks down like a rat at the foot of a wall. (SB, 88–89; emphasis mine)¹²

The “miserable wanderer” contains an echo from an authoritative source, *Uusi Suomalainen Wirsi-kirja* (The New Finnish Psalm Book) from 1701. Juhani is making an allusion to the ninth stanza of a traditional Finnish psalm (number 226):

As a miserable worm and wayfarer / Many a dangerous trek I travel / In search for the Father's land / And I wait for the evening while: / No calm carefree cabin have I here, /

11 “Juhani. Miksi synnyin tänne, miksi synnyin?

Timo. Tännepä synnyin kurjaksi matkamieheksi. Miksi en avannut ennen silmäni halkihuulisena jäniksen poikasena tuon näreen alla tuossa?” (SV, 65)

12 “Juhani. Sitä en ihmettele, katsottuani omaan poveeni tällä murheen hetkellä. Mutta ei auta tässä maailmassa, vaan olkoon miehen sydän aina kova kuin valkoinen harakankivi. *Matkamieheksi* on ihmislapsi syntynyt tänne, täällä ei ole hänellä yhtään pysyväistä sijaa.

Timo. Täällä käyskelee hän vähän ajan, keikkuu ja kiikkuu, kunnes hän vihdoin kännistyy ja näantyy kuin rotta seinän-juureen.” (SV, 130; emphasis mine)

So, there I will hurry, / hasten with all my strength / where
rest and peace will hide me. (Translated by the author)¹³

Juhani's words refer to the motif of a wanderer without the lasting rest on earth. In Platonic philosophy and Christian theology, the *miserable wayfarer* belongs to the motif family of the *journey of the soul*. The *Motivkreis* presents a recurring sequence in Romantic literature, and it has significant uses in other levels of *Seven Brothers*.

The sequence of the sea voyage may be translated into the earthly parallel sequence as follows:

Heaven > Descent > Journey on Earth > Ascent > Heaven

The dual picture of man's life is further developed in the novel as the sequence of the sea voyage unfolds. The *seafarer* and *wayfarer* are both contrastive and complementary tropes that qualify man in Kivi's poetic world: on the one hand, the physical and healthy adventurer open to the world and, on the other hand, the melancholic, religious thinker, the meditative poet who places himself far away from the world.

Timo's reaction is still somewhat surprising, not least because it breaks down the neat dual pattern. The unexpected simile of the dying rat refers to man's fate on earth. It is comic in its change of class (man vs. animal), register, and the scale of activity. Juhani's high-spirited rhetoric of man as a sailor and a wayfarer is not comic, though it is humorous. Timo certainly drops down Juhani's grand visions in a humorous detour so often employed by Kivi. There is, however, a more serious aspect to this too.

With his rat argument, the ignorant young boy who cannot even read alludes to the celebrated lines of Macbeth's soliloquy as this gloomy usurper faces the final hours of his life turned to horror: "Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player / That struts and frets his hour upon the stage" (Macbeth V.v; cf. Timo's "tossed to and fro" and "sags and sinks"). Timo's additional argument disturbs the otherwise complete symmetry of the seafarer and the wayfarer. The ultimate, dark side of life is revealed for a second amidst all this fool's wisdom. The Shakespearean allusion serves

13 "Mä waiwainen mato ja matcamies / Mond waaralist waellan retke / Isän maat etzeisän täsä ties / Ja odotan ehton hetke: / Ei lewollist surutoind maja mull tääll / Sinn riennän / kijruhdan caikell wäell / Cus' lepo ja rauha mun kätke" (*Uusi Suomalainen Wirsi-Kirja*, 226–9–290).

as a conclusive comment on the previous arguments by breaking the symmetry and turning the direction of thought. It anticipates a level of existence that the brothers reach during their lowest period of life in Impivaara.

Political Man and the Ship-of-State

Sailing to Impivaara: A Utopian Motif

One important reason for the brothers to move from the village community to Impivaara is to escape. The brothers have a lot of troubles and conflicts with other villagers, problems which they have largely caused by themselves but are not at all willing to face.

Their goal is to found a new brotherly community. The idea of moving to the woods is initially mentioned by Lauri, who projects, for the first time, a happy, carefree life in the middle of the forest, away from the control of society. He proposes a fundamental change of direction in the brothers' life: "Let's head for the woods. To hell with this jangling world" (SB, 9).¹⁴ A moment later he explains his idea in detail:

Lauri: Let's go deep into the woods. [. . .] We'll build a nice little cabin in a bright meadow sloping east, and there we'll live by trapping wild animals, far from the ways of the world and its ill-tempered people. [. . .] There we'll live like [lords], snaring birds, squirrels, rabbits, foxes, wolves, badges, and shaggy bears.

Juhani: What the devil! Let's bring on the whole of Noah's ark, from Mouse to Moose. (SB, 10)¹⁵

Lauri is not the only brother with a utopian wish to live happily in harmony with nature. Juhani's reaction reveals that Lauri's wish finds much common ground. The reference to Noah's ark with all its grand Biblical connotations is, of course, a comical line in this

14 "Muuttakaamme metsään ja heittäkäämme hiiteen tämän maailman pauhu" (SV, 26).

15 "Lauri. Muuttakaamme metsien kohtuun [. . .]. Sinne rakentakaamme itsemme iloinen pirtti iloiselle päiväkaltevalle aholle, ja siellä, pyydellen salojen otuksia, elämme rauhassa kaukana maailman menosta ja kiukkuisista ihmisistä. [. . .] Siellä eläisimme vasta herroina, pyydellen lintuja, oravia, jäniksiä, kettuja, susia, mäyriä ja pöyrykarvaisia karhuja. Juhani. No peijakas! annapas mennä koko Noakin arkki aina hiirestä hirveen asti" (SV, 27–28). I have replaced Impola's translation *kings* 'herroina' with *lords*, which gives a more proper equivalent to the word *herra* ('master', 'lord', a contrary to the 'common people') in this context.

conversation between illicit young men. But it alludes to the brothers' unwavering naïve optimism and to a deep faith that their own "ark" will be protected by God in the godless seas and will not drown in worldly storms.

The idea of leaving behind the village turns into a concrete decision as the brothers face problems with the authorities, such as the sexton and the bailiff. When the brothers go to confirmation school, certain obligations cause insurmountable difficulties. In order to take their confirmation, the brothers have to show that they can read. The sexton gives them reading lessons, though he finds that the brothers are slow to learn. This causes tension between the teacher and his pupils, and the severe authoritarian methods of the sexton do not make the brothers' learning any easier. Finally, the boys become vexed, and Aapo, the soberest of them all, says: "I did my best, but it was no use. I'm not angry now, and for once I'm going to let fate decide things. Here I sit." (SB, 48)¹⁶ Note that in his translation Impola (1991, 48) translates the Finnish *heitän elomme haaksen perämelan kohtalon kouraan* using an idiomatic English expression "let fate decide things." The literal translation would be "throw the oar of our life's boat to the hands of fate." This image of abandoning "the oar of our life's boat" refers to a hopeless situation at sea.

The boys run away from confirmation school and get themselves into troubles with the villagers. Their quarrelsome behavior leads to a public fight with another group of young men from the neighboring village of Toukola. At this point, the local authorities and the vicar send Mäkelä, a lay judge, to give warning to the Jukola brothers that the authorities do not accept their behavior and will see that unless the brothers return to the sexton's class to learn "the alphabet and the Small Catechism" the brothers will be "perched neatly in the stocks" (SB, 84).¹⁷

The ultimatum irritates the brothers. Immediately after Mäkelä's departure from Jukola, Juhani makes a quick decision:

Juhani: The dawn of peace still shines for us from one corner of the world. Lake Ilves beside Impivaara is our harbor

16 "Olen koettanut parastani, mutta turhaan. Nyt suutun kuitenkin kerran ja *heitän elomme haaksen perämelan kohtalon kouraan*. Tässä istun." (SV, 78; emphasis mine)

17 To be "perched — in the stocks" was a punishment (and a public humiliation) implemented by the Church.

to ride out the storm. My mind is made up. [. . .] We'll go there and build a new world. (SB, 86)¹⁸

From where does the idea of building a “new world” enter the brothers’ minds? The sources become perfectly clear when the brothers are interviewed by the lay judge Mäkelä. Aapo tells Mäkelä that they have received all their knowledge from the blind uncle who has told them about the Bible, his life at sea, and “how the world is built” (“maailman rakennosta” SV, 122); Juhani clarifies that the uncle “told us about Moses and the children of Israel and about what happened in the Book of Kings and the wonders of Revelation” (SB, 83). All these three “sources” include an unequivocal utopian element: the *promised land*, the history of the Hebrew kingdom, and the *promises God made* to Israel, and, finally, the *New Jerusalem* that will descend on earth in the last days.

Escaping the cruel world and moving deep into the forest is described as a bold voyage to a new world of freedom and peace, far away from the treacherous world of bilious people. The brothers do not find a new world in Impivaara; instead they find all the problems they had escaped when leaving the village community.

The Body Politic: The Question of the Leader

The Jukola brothers have led a fatherless life in their mother's care. When she passes away, the boys are left on their own. They soon find that their daily lives should be in order and under control. The narrator underlines the topic by introducing the background of the brotherhood in the beginning of the story. He notes that even the brothers have realized that the times are changing, and this forces them to give some thought to tomorrow.

Aapo is the first and perhaps the only brother who understands the gravity of the situation:

Aapo: I tell you, this wild life won't do. It'll end in rack and ruin. Brothers, [. . .] it's time to be wise, to harness our whims and wishes to the yoke of reason, to do what's gainful rather than sweet. Let's set about restoring the farm to a decent state right now. (SB, 8)¹⁹

18 “Juhani. Yhdestä maailman kulmasta kuumoittaa meille vieläkin rauhan päivä. Ilvesjärvi tuolla Impivaaran kupeilla on se satama, jonne purjehdimme myrskyistä pois. Nyt olen päättänyt. [. . .] Sinne siirrymme ja rakennamme uuden maailman.” (SV, 126)

19 “Aapo. Sanonpa: tämä hurja elämä ei käy päisin, vaan on sen loppu viimein

The reactions to this are immature. Timo and Juhani admit that something has to be done, but not earlier than “next Monday” because the decision has to be carefully reflected upon. Aapo tries to explain the problem from another angle by raising the question of the leader they should elect. This is the first concrete organizational problem they should be able to solve:

Aapo: But one issue must be settled right now. If we expect to have method and order in our farming, then one man has to lead and command. We know that right and duty belongs to Juhani, both as first-born and by Mother’s decree.

Juhani: Exactly so. The right, the power, and the authority belong to me.

Aapo: But see that you use it wisely and for the benefit of all.

Juhani: I’ll do my best. If only you’ll obey without the use of force or the whip. But I’ll do my best.

Aapo: The whip?

Juhani: If it’s necessary, you’ll see.

Tuomas: Talk of whipping to your dog. (SB, 8–9)²⁰

Aapo emphasizes that the rights and obligations of the head of the family are based on tradition and Mother’s decree. But this is

hävitys ja turmio. Veljet! [. . .] on aika viisastua, aika on panna kaikki halut ja himot järjen ikeen alle ja etunenässä tehdä se, joka tuo hyötyä, vaan ei sitä joka makeammalle maistuu. Nyt viipymättä rakentamaan taloamme kunnialliseen kuntoon taas!” (SV, 24–25)

20 “Aapo. Mutta yksi pykälä on meillä kohta suoritettavana. Tämä on laita: Jos talonpitoomme toivomme järjestystä ja pysyvääsiyyttä, niin yksi olkoon esimies ja isäntä. Me tiedämme, että tämä oikeus ja velvollisuus on Juhaniin sekä hänen esikoisuutensa että äitimme määräyksen kautta.

Juhani. Niin, niin se oikeus, valta ja voima on minun!

Aapo. Mutta katso, että sitä sopuisasti käyttelet ja yhteiseksi hyödyksi.

Juhani. Parastani tahdon koettaa. Mutta kun vaan tottelisitte ilman könimistä ja ruoskaa! Mutta parastani tahdon koettaa.

Aapo. Ruoskaa?

Juhani. Jos niin tarvitaan, näetkös.

Tuomas. Puhu koirillesi ruoskasta.” (SV, 25–26)

not enough. As Hyvärinen (2003, 70–71) suggests, the following dialogue reveals that being the first-born and favored by Mother's decree do not give a self-evident power to Juhani. Instead it must be first decided on together, and it must be used for common good. So it is *power to* something and not just *power over* something, as proposed by Juhani. And if the power is given to Juhani, the others will not become mere subordinated animals, as Tuomas reminds them. The others must have a power of their own and an identity related to the power.

Aapo's proposal does not, however, lead to decisions, mainly because Juhani seems to lack all understanding of the task as well as any ability to meet the challenge. The question fades away, but the brothers return to the topic in their first conversation in Impivaara. They have now come to their "happy island" where they are about to establish a new life. How can they best arrange the government of the brotherhood and how can they steer decision-making in their new "society"?

A discussion of electing a leader takes place on the first evening. It is again Aapo who raises the issue (with my literal translation added in brackets):

Aapo: I would like to say something important.

Juhani: Well, spit it out. ["Well, break it out from your *heart*."]]

Aapo: A *headless body* is no good, I say.

Juhani: It runs into walls like a headless chicken. [. . .] But spit it out, brother Aapo. ["But wash out your *mouth*, brother Aapo."]]

Aapo: This is what I think. ["This is the thought in my *brain*."] If we want to start things out right here, one of us should always be the *head* man, the one to lead discussions and settle disputes. In a word, for the sake of order, let one man be our leader. (SB, 97; emphasis mine)²¹

21 "Aapo. Tahtoisinpa lausua tärkeän aatoksen.

Juhani. No puhkaise se *sydänkarsinastas* ulos.

Aapo. *Päätön ruumis* ei käy päisin, sanon minä.

Juhani. Vaan nuijailee seiiniä kuin päätön kana. [. . .] Mutta puhdistappas *suus*, veli Aapo.

The vocabulary that both Aapo and Juhani use throughout the conversation triggers a specific motif cluster of the *Body Politic*. While the bodily imagery is quite conventional, the frequency with which it is used in a very small textual space is noticeable. *Brain, head, mouth, heart, voice, nose*, and, of course, *body* are mentioned when the interlocutors refer to the philosophical question of how to govern a state depicted as a human body. Aapo compares a community without a leader to the brotherhood as a headless body. Juhani obviously does not understand the image and turns the conversation into a childish joke, and Aapo has to translate the trope into a concrete description of the brothers' need for a capable leader.

The dialogue continues with practical questions about who is entitled to take up leadership and on what grounds, as well as what measures should be taken when somebody breaks the laws and rules of the brotherhood. Like all the dialogue sequences in the first half of the narrative, this soon descends into a row and general chaos (see Nummi 2006, 10–11).

This short section of dialogue is an overture to a theme that will be continued in the following events leading up to the Hiidenkivi episode. The political theme explodes in a quarrel that almost leads to fratricide.

Storm as Political Crisis

Several scholars agree, albeit on varying grounds, that there is a distinguishable turning point in *Seven Brothers*, and that point is the episode at Hiidenkivi. It is also the largest episodic unit in the narrative as a whole, consisting of two central chapters, numbers 7 and 8 (see Hollo 1949; Koskimies 1934; Marjanen 1958). The huge stone offers the brothers a “saving island” when they escape Viertola's bulls, which they have managed to enrage during their hunting adventure.

In the Hiidenkivi episode, the central motif of the sea voyage—the sea storm—is deployed in a particularly complex way. Very early on, historically speaking, the sea storm scene became a highly artificial and conventional block used by classical authors such as Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Juvenal, and it was revived with particular regularity in nineteenth-century literature and painting. The

Aapo. Tämä on tuuma *aivoissani*: Jos tahdomme täällä jotain ja kunnokkaasti matkaansaattaa, niin yksi meistä olkoon aina ensimmäisenä miehenä, keskustelemisten johtajana, ratkaisijana riitaisissa asioissa. Sanalla sanoin, yksi olkoon, jonka *ääni* käy *etunenässä* järjestyksen tähden.” (SV, 140; emphasis mine)

description of storms at sea was for centuries a standard rhetorical exercise intended to display the techniques of forceful, vigorous writing (*energeia*) and the vivid visualization of scenes (*enargeia*) (Goedde 1989, 25).

The type-scene of the storm may be divided into smaller motifs, as Dunsch (2014, 50–53) has done with the paradigmatic storm scene in Book II of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. He lists ten motifs; here I isolate seven as they are realized in chapters 7 and 8 of *Seven Brothers*:

(1) The sudden outbreak of the storm. In *Seven Brothers*, the Hiidenkivi episode begins as the brothers have to escape Viertola's thirty-three bulls. The narrator describes the situation as a surprising outbreak of storm: "But they barely had time to catch their breath when another danger was upon them. The whirlwind was succeeded by a hurricane, and the end of the world seemed at hand." (SB, 162)

(2) On the ship the captain or the helmsman and crew despair. In *Seven Brothers*, a general despair is articulated by Aapo, Simeoni, and Juhani, the latter of whom cries: "Misery, nothing but misery. But lie down, boys, and ask blessings on your soul and body, in God's name, and go to sleep." (SB, 166)

(3) The sailors are devastated and pray to the gods. In *Seven Brothers*, the brothers decide to cry for help, and they cry together several times until they realize that it is in vain. (SB, 189)

In addition to (1–3) above, there will also be (4) heavy rain; (5) thick mist or black clouds will turn the sky pitch-dark, so that nothing can be seen any longer; (6) thunder and lightning will fill the sky; and (7) terrible flashes of lightning will be the only source of light. All these motifs are present in *Seven Brothers* as the brothers shoot the bulls (SB, 190–91). It is with these motifs that the allegorical sea storm type-scene is constructed in *Seven Brothers*, but it is Aapo who really translates them into the language of the sea voyage.

Once at Hiidenkivi, Aapo, who understands the danger of the situation in which the brothers on the boulder are surrounded by thirty-three aggressive bulls, reminds the others that they are facing

the ultimate danger if they do not act wisely. Like his brother Juhani earlier, he turns to defining man's fate with two parallel image clusters. With the first image complex we are again aboard a vessel.

[A] Aapo: Remember how close we are to the jaws of death. And brothers, I've been thinking, and I have a little tip to give you that's crucial to us right now. Listen: this rock is a ship in a storm and the storm is that angry, bellowing herd of bulls around it. [B] Or shall I choose another image? [A'] Then let this rock be a castle surrounded by an enemy armed with cruel spears. Without *a leader* to organize and defend the besieged castle, confusion and chaos will seize on its men and soon they and the castle will be lost. That's what will happen, unless we act differently and establish law and order among us. [C] Let there be one man whose wise counsel the others will obey. Get a grip on yourself, now, Juhani, and take charge of your brothers. You know that most of us will fall in and support your command in this besieged fortress. (SB, 179; emphasis mine)²²

The double structure in Aapo's speech is noteworthy.²³ First comes (A), a motif cluster of the sea voyage (the ship [the rock] and stormy sea [the herd of bulls]); this is followed by (B) the inter-mediating (meta)comment by Aapo, expressed as a poetic concept (the "image"). This is, then, followed by (A'), a second cluster of the *besieged castle* (the castle, the hostile enemy, the leader, and the inhabitants). This pattern produces two simple motif clusters

22 "Aapo. [A] Muistakaamme kuinka lähellä olemme kuoleman kitaa. Veljet, minulla on aatos aivossani, kielenpäissäni pieni keino, jonka luulen tässä juuri tärkeäksi. Huomatkaat: tämä kivi on laiva myrskyssä ja myrskynä on tuo möräilevä, vihainen härkäliuta kivemme ympärillä. [B] Vai valitsenko toisen kuvan? [A'] Niin, olkoon siis tämä kivemme linnana, jota vihollinen, julmasti keihäillä varustettu vihollinen piirittää. Mutta jos nyt linnalla, joka piiritetty on, ei ole päämiestä, järjestyksen ja puolustuksen johtajata, niin vallattomuus ja häiriö anastaa miehistön ja pian on hukassa sekä linna että linnan väki. Samoin käy myös meille, ellemmme toisin tässä aseta ja rakenna, ellemmme saata välillemme lailista järjestystä. [C] Siis olkoon yksi, jonka järkevätä sanaa jokainen kuulkoon ja sitämyöten itseänsä käyttäköön. Juhani, hillitse nyt itses ja koko velisarja. Tiedä että useimmat meistä astuvat sun puolelles, esimiehisiyyttäsi tueten tässä piiritetyssä linnassa." (SV, 244–45)

23 Kivi was not, of course, the first poet to couple sea-voyage imagery with a parallel imagery. In Archilochus's fragment 13 W, Deborah Steiner (2012, 22) has traced an equation between shipwreck and drunkenness.

that are explained and interpreted by the conclusive note (C). By emphasising the parallelism of the two simple clusters, Aapo implies a more complete *cluster complex*.

In his balanced speech, Aapo first turns the “image” of the ship into another trope that reveals the more straightforward language of politics and power. With a single stroke, he converts the existential issues into practical questions of governing daily life in the brotherly Impivaara community. The ship is translated into a castle to be defended, a place that requires a strong, capable leader, and the cattle are seen as an enemy to be warded off. Otherwise chaos will seize the brothers and they will be lost. Finally, Aapo proceeds to the question of the capable leader who should take his stance and steer the ship into calmer waters. The emerging image complex refers to a vital subtext of the Jukola brothers’ sea voyage.

By using the image of the ship as a metaphor for the state or city (*linna*), then picking up the issue of a capable helmsman to steer the ship, the most learned (though illiterate) member of the Jukola brotherhood refers to a long topical tradition. The circumstances around the Jukola brothers’ ship closely recall the circumstances of Horace’s state-ship and Plato’s ship of state in the *Republic*. In Horace’s allegorical ode (1.14) the conditions around the ship are presented as follows:

O, ship, these latest waves will take
you out to sea again. O what
are you doing? Return
to the harbor! Your oars are gone.

The African gale has cracked your mast.
The yardarms are groaning. Bereft of ropes,
the keel can barely
endure the tyrannical water.

(Horace 1994, 71)

The poem points to a community (or state) out of control, because it has lost all resources and ways of conducting its course in a crisis, in the storm of “tyrannical waters.”²⁴

Plato has several variations of the state-ship metaphor that indicate how he developed his political view through separate

24 Riikonen (2017, 35–37) has recently analyzed the Horatian ode as a subtext for Kivi’s poem “Storm” (1866).

dialogues (Kahn 1996). In *Statesman*, the Guest talks to the young Socrates:

We see many instances of cities going down like sinking ships to their destruction. There have been such wrecks in the past and there surely will be others in the future, caused by the wickedness of captains and crews alike. For these are guilty men, whose sin is supreme ignorance of what matters most. (Plato 1992, 302a)

In *Laws*, the Athenian again uses the metaphor of the ship:

Now, just as a ship at sea must have a perpetual watch set, day and night, so also state, tossed, as it is, on the billows of interstate affairs and in peril of being trapped by plots of every sort. (Plato 1980, 758a)

Both passages include the metaphor of the ship in a perilous situation at sea, caused by the failure and ignorance of the captain and crew. In both passages, the ship is directly compared to the state.

The Republic of Seven Brothers

Plato's *Republic* is the first classic text of political theory and the first representative of utopian literature. It established a literary-philosophical tradition in which a state is designed that does not exist—and that cannot exist—but that is nonetheless fundamentally better than any existing state.

During the sixteenth century, Plato's idea of social harmony greatly impacted Tommaso Campanella's book *La città del sole* (1602), about a utopian community like Plato's Kallipolis. Thomas More's *Utopia* is a direct heir of the *Republic* both in form and content. These works present the utopian tradition that rises from the *Republic*, but it is to the topical tradition of steering the ship-of-state that Dante refers with his political metaphor as he uses the words *govern* and *government* (Latin *gubernare*, Greek *kubernon*, 'steer a ship') in his famous depiction of the rotten state of Italy as a "ship without a helmsman in a mighty tempest," as a "mistress [. . .] of a brothel."

O Italy, you slave, you inn of grief, ship without helmsman in a mighty tempest, mistress, not of provinces, but of a brothel! That gentle spirit was quick, then, to greet his

fellow-citizen, at the mere mention of the sweet name of his city, yet, now, the living do not live there without conflict, and, of those, that one wall and one moat shuts in, one rends the other. (Dante 2000, *Purgatorio* VI)

On the Hiidenkivi stone, in the spirit of Dante, Aapo Jukola evokes the political tradition tied to the image of the ship-of-state and depicts the sordid condition of the brotherhood in the light of this motif cluster. It is not just the bulls that physically threaten the brothers' life; it is the bull in the brotherhood's soul, its unruly life that has led to the crisis.

How has the brotherhood drifted into a state of such misery? Life in Impivaara is based on more or less free activities after the brothers built themselves a home to live in and some household buildings. They spend their days hunting, playing games, doing whatever comes to mind, without giving any thought to the future. This way of life has been possible because the brothers have leased the Jukola house and Kekkuri croft to cover their basic expenses.

Their life in the forest culminates in ignorance, quarrels, drinking, and endless feasting, the likes of which Plato's character, Socrates, mentions in his description of a state as a ship without a competent helmsman in his famous parable in the 6th book of the *Republic*.

Imagine then a fleet or a ship in which there is a captain who is taller and stronger than any of the crew, but he is a little deaf and has a similar infirmity in sight, and his knowledge of navigation is not much better. The sailors are quarrelling with one another about the steering—every one is of opinion that he has a right to steer, though he has never learned the art of navigation and cannot tell who taught him or when he learned, and will further assert that it cannot be taught, and they are ready to cut in pieces any one who says the contrary. They throng about the captain, begging and praying him to commit the helm to them; and if at any time they do not prevail, but others are preferred to them, they kill the others or throw them overboard, and having first chained up the noble captain's senses with drink or some narcotic drug, they mutiny and take possession of the ship and make free with the stores; thus, eating and drinking, they proceed on their voyage in such a manner as might be expected of them. Him who is their partisan

and cleverly aids them in their plot for getting the ship out of the captain's hands into their own whether by force or persuasion, they compliment with the name of sailor, pilot, able seaman, and abuse the other sort of man, whom they call a good-for-nothing; but that the true pilot must pay attention to the year and seasons and sky and stars and winds, and whatever else belongs to his art, if he intends to be really qualified for the command of a ship, and that he must and will be the steerer, whether other people like or not—the possibility of this union of authority with the steerer's art has never seriously entered into their thoughts or been made part of their calling. Now in vessels which are in a state of mutiny and by sailors who are mutineers, how will the true pilot be regarded? Will he not be called by them a prater, a star-gazer, a good-for-nothing? (Plato 2008, 488a7–489a6)

Plato uses the simile of the ship to explain why a philosopher in a Greek city is like a skilled but disrespected steersman aboard a ship that has been hijacked by its unruly crew and whose helm has been placed in the hands of a sailor who does not know how to steer properly.

There is a plethora of interpretations of the parable, but it is commonly accepted that it is an image of governing the city gone wrong. Plato uses the simile as a criticism of democracy, although the specific target of his criticism remains unclear. Socrates interprets the simile and tells us that the ship symbolizes a city, or *polis*, that the true steersman symbolizes the true philosopher, and that the sailors symbolize “political rulers.” The multi-skilled ancient Greek steersman, who was captain, helmsman, and navigator rolled into one, is a fitting symbol of a ruler in whom political power and philosophy coalesce. Socrates does not tell us explicitly what the ship-owner symbolizes. According to David Keyt (2006, 193–201), the ship-owner symbolizes the body, the *demos* ‘the people’, through which politicians seek power.

Aapo's speech opens the connection of the Hiidenkivi episode to Plato's parable. He makes a comparison between the state and the ship in a storm without a capable leader. The connection is strong, and it is supported by relevant connections to the other books in the *Republic*. I will focus on the important thematic points that the

parable and *Seven Brothers*, in particular the Hiidenkivi episode, share with Plato's parable.²⁵

Several points of contact between the Hiidenkivi episode, its textual surroundings (chapters 7 and 8), and Plato's description of the activities on the ship may be pointed out between *Seven Brothers* and the *Republic*.

First of all, there is the allegorical description of the political situation (of a state) as a ship in a storm without a competent captain. At the beginning of the parable, Socrates asks the addressee to "imagine a ship and a captain." The request is an indication of the allegorical nature of the parable. Aapo, whose role among the brothers in many ways reminds us of the role of Socrates in Plato's dialogues, frames his request to the brothers in a similar vein: "I have a little tip to give you that's crucial to us right now. Listen—. . ." Then later: "Or shall I choose *another image*? Then let this rock be a castle surrounded by an enemy armed with cruel spears" (SB, 179).

Second, the major agent of the parable, the captain, is described as a physically strong man "who is taller and stronger than any of the crew, but he is a little deaf and has a similar infirmity in sight, and his knowledge of navigation is not much better." The head of the brothers has in practice been the oldest of the brotherhood, Juhani, who matches the characterization of the captain: a strong, slow-witted, impulsive man with little judgment.

Third, there is a parallel situation on both ships: the crew is in unruly condition. In Socrates' parable, the sailors quarrel with one another about the steering—everyone is of the opinion that he has

25 Viljo Tarkiainen's list of the books Kivi owned or had read (1949) does not mention any work of Plato. The lack of this kind of evidence together with the conviction that the author was uneducated (because he had not graduated) has led to an assumption that Kivi did not know Plato nor had read him. This may well be the reason that Platonian references and subtexts have been neglected in the research until recently (see Nummi 2006). All the monographs and handbooks on philosophy and aesthetics Kivi owned or had read discussed broadly Plato's work. Kivi had studied Greek but we do not know the level of his language skills. He read classics mostly in Swedish translation. Plato's *Symposium* was translated into Swedish in 1835, and some seven dialogues were published until the first volume of the Swedish Plato edition *Valda skrifter* came out in 1870. The *Republic* was included in the second volume (1872). There is a Swedish dissertation of Plato's *Republic* published in several volumes (1846–48), which turns out to be a Swedish translation. The first book of the *Republic* is to be found in the Finnish National Library. There is, however, a Danish translation, *Platons stat*, which came out in 1851. I have not found any trace of the circulation of these publications in the hands of students who had to study Plato at the university. Kivi also had access to some important private libraries of wealthy families such as the Palmqvist family, which was of Danish origin and had lively contacts to Denmark (see Kauppila 2003, 38–43).

the right to steer, though he has never learned the art of navigation—and they are ready to cut into pieces anyone who says something to the contrary. On Kivi's *Hiidenkivi* "ship," the quarrelsome behavior is aggressive, and the often violent disputes between the brothers correspond to the conditions on Socrates' ship.

The brotherly anger and aggression culminates in the intention to throw Lauri to the bulls. The effort is the precise equivalent to Socrates' mutinous crew that throws overboard anyone who resists them. In addition to all the chaos and quarrelling, the crew takes its pleasure in eating and drinking, and in this way "they proceed on their voyage in such a manner as might be expected of them." In Jukola the same pattern is evident: after the brothers have become accustomed to hard liquor, the quarrels and unruly life grow in a vicious circle.

The fourth parallel is the dispute of leadership. At the end of Plato's parable, the problem of choosing a good leader is presented as the key question to be solved. But since the question "has never seriously entered into their thoughts or been made part of their calling," the crew does not bother and the ship is "in a state of mutiny." Disputes regarding leadership among the brothers are repeated several times, but there is a change in this area in contrast to Plato's parable. Aapo, who understands Juhani's unsuitability for the job and who has himself been forced to act as a deputy of sorts, makes it clear that Juhani has to take responsibility: "Get a grip on yourself, now, Juhani, and take charge of your brothers. You know that most of us will fall in and support your command in this besieged fortress" (SB, 179). Juhani is not yet ready, but gradually he too takes steps towards adulthood.

The outcome of the crisis on *Hiidenkivi* is that the brothers do not drown. They find a way out of the island by repaying Viertola for the bulls they have shot. At the same time, they have to learn to work, and through hard work they gradually begin to take control of their behaviors and lives. Much of the twelfth chapter of *Seven Brothers* is an account of this learning process. Unlike in previous chapters, here there are no more adventures, no colorful action. The brothers settle down for the simple reason that they have to work hard but also plan their work in order to get results. The shipwreck or, rather, the threat of a shipwreck functions in *Seven Brothers* as a metaphor for punishment, a trial and a means of education.²⁶

26 Kivi used the motif in all three senses in one of the by-plots of *Nummisuutarit* (*Heath Cobblers*, 1864) in depicting the experiences of Niko as a sailor and an adventurer (see Nummi 2010, 114–18).

Return to Harbor

On their way back to Jukola, the brothers reach the top of Sonninmäki. Ten years earlier they had decided to leave the village and flee deep into the woods in order to found a new world.

On the hilltop, Aapo takes a retrospective look at their ten-year sea-journey. In his summary of their experiences, Aapo thanks God and their mother, whose warning voice had led the brothers' way "through the wildest storms" so that "[i]t kept our lives from sinking in shipwreck" (SB, 283). The desire to return to the place where a man may be truly himself and truly at home is presented in *Seven Brothers* with the motif of the *harbor*. This motif appears rather late, as is to be expected on the basis of the sea-journey sequence.

The decision to return to Jukola comes at the beginning of the end of the journey. The brothers are ready to make plans for their future, how they will deal with the partition of their inherited land and property, and how they will settle down. Aapo even suggests that the brothers should decide to marry.

Aapo: Let's consider marriage the most critical day of our lives then, for a bad wife is a man's ruin while a good wife is the height of happiness and a man's best friend, his golden honor, who makes his home a haven of joy and peace. (SB, 278)²⁷

Aapo's advice is neither original nor controversial. The idea comes directly from the Bible, but it is key to the ordinary life of the village community and the people with whom the brothers now have to negotiate a new relationship. Indeed, the final chapter of *Seven Brothers* presents all the joys and peace that a marriage can offer to the brothers. All of them appear quite different from Aapo's comically idealistic views.

The final chapter is given over to the narrator who presents the brothers' later life, ending in the depiction of the family life of the youngest brother, Eero. The narrator builds up a tableau of the "holy family": Eero, his Madonna-like wife Anna, and their little son—they are sitting on a bench in the living room on a Sunday. The tableau is presented so that in the middle of the episode, Anna

27 "Aapo. Olkoon siis naiminen, niinkuin se olla pitää, elämämme ankarin askel. Sillä huono emäntä on miehen tuho, mutta kelpo ja armas vaimo on hänen onnensa ihanin, hänen paras ystävänsä, kultainen kunniansa, ja tekee hänen huoneensa ilon ja rauhan satamaksi." (SV, 372)

presents her triumphal poem, “Song of My Heart,” with introductory words addressed to her child:

Ah, this world is treacherous and stormy, and many a sailor on its seas has sunk into their eternal depths. Tell me my child, my summer’s delight, tell me: Wouldn’t you like to sail away into the harbor of everlasting peace with the white banner of childhood still gleaming pure? (SB, 342)²⁸

Anna’s resigned and melancholic words add the last motif, the harbor, into the sea-voyage cluster which is now fully present (*storm, sailor, sea, eternal depth, sail, harbor*). The harbor functions as a metaphor for the grave-like sand-cradle (depicted in “Song of My Heart,” which follows immediately), and, thus, combines two motif sequences: the adventurous, risky voyage at sea and the earthly journey of the wayfarer to the same end, reaching man’s final rest.

The idea of presenting aspects of life as double-faced is revealed for the last time in the Christmas scene at the end of the novel as the brothers reminisce about their previous lives and their years of adventure at Impivaara. Their words are turned by the narrator into a grand Homeric simile, which is, again, doubled.

So they looked back on the past, as does a cowherd on an autumn evening when nature has gone to rest and the gentle grove glows yellow; he looks back at the sweet meadow where he strove, suffered, and sweated during the summer. He recalls a warm, sunny day, when thunder roared in the distance and flies swarmed in clouds, driving the cattle into a frenzy.

Before evening he gathered the herd and marched happily homeward to the clanking of bells. He smiles as he recalls that day. Thus too, a sailor growing gray on shore calls to mind long-ago storms at sea. Clouds enveloped the ship in darkness, the foaming waves threatened death, but before nightfall, the wind subsided, the waves sank to rest, and the sun shone again from the brightening [west], showing the way to port. Now the sailor remembers the storm with a calm joy. So the brothers recalled bygone days

28 “Ah! tämä maailma on kavala ja myrskyinen, ja moni purjehtija täällä on vaipunut sen merien ikuiseen kohtuun. Sanoppas, lapseni, mun suven-ihanaiseni, sano: etkö tahtoisit täältä purjehtia rauhan ikisatamaan pois, koska vielä puhtaana väikkyy lapsuutesi valkea viiri?” (SV, 453)

as they sat talking around the table at Jukola on a golden Christmas evening. (SB, 344–45)²⁹

This long Homeric simile is used for a double presentation of the motif of homecoming. The cowherd returns home with his herd after a drowsy hot summer's day, and the adventurous seafarer returns from stormy seas to his home-harbor. There is a crucial change in the motif pair. The sailor motif remains but the wayfarer or the leader of the castle has been replaced by a motif of cowherd. The final question is therefore: why this particular change?

The answer is tied up with the parables; they are both parables of homecoming, but also of control and balance. The agents in both parables are coming home from a dangerous voyage or a tiring journey. They have both succeeded in avoiding a violent storm and peril at sea or in the wilderness; they are in complete balance with the forces of nature. The cowherd comes "happily homeward," and he remembers past dangers with "calm joy."

The final scenes of *Seven Brothers* open a grand view on the community of the brothers, now with their wives and children, as they celebrate Christmas together in the old house at Jukola. The images represent complete harmony and balance, both within the family and with the surrounding congregational community. When the members of the Jukola family finally seat themselves at the Christmas table, their final get-together around a meal does not lead to catastrophe but to community singing.

Early the next morning, they woke up to go to the resplendent church glowing like a starry sky with the light from thousands of candles. From it they returned in the full

29 "Niin he katselivat takaisin olleisiin päiviin. Niinpä syksy-iltana, koska luonto on käynyt lepoon ja kellastuneena seisoo lempeä lehto, katselee paimen matkanpäästä armasta ahoa, jossa hän kerran kesänä kilvoitteli, tuskitteli, hikeä vuodattain. Päivä oli kuuma ja helteinen, etäällä ukkonen jymisi ja sumuna parveilivat paarmat ja kärpäset, saattaen karjan kiilivään kimmaan. Mutta ennen iltaa oli hän koonnut karjansa taas ja asteli iloisena kellojen kilinässä kotia. Sitä päivää hän nyt muistelee ja hymyää. Niinpä myös mannermaalla harmeneva merimies johdattelee mieleensä muinoista myrskyä merellä. Pilvet haahden pimeyteen käärivät, kuohuva aalto uhkaili kuolemalla; mutta ennenkuin yö oli tullut, vaikenä tuuli, aalto viihtyi ja nukkui ja kirkastuvasta lännestä säteili aurinko taas, osoittaen tien satamaan. Tätäpä myrskyä muistelee merimies hiljaisella riemulla nyt. Niin muistelivat veljeksetkin menneitä päiviänsä, kultaisena joului-iltana istuissaan ympäri Jukolan pöydän ja haastellessansa keskenään." (SV, 457)

light of dawn, racing each other home, to spend a happy Christmas day at old Jukola. (SB, 345)³⁰

This is the final type-scene of the story: complete peace and harmony. The community described here is built around one simple simile in which the church is illuminated by thousands of candles and is “glowing like a starry sky.” The spatial image evokes the cosmic connection of the community on earth. The stars are presented in this inner space of the church as the cosmic order and their counterparts on earth are the seven brothers whom the village community earlier depicted in a mocking song “[a]s thick as stars in the Milky Way.” (SB, 31)³¹

Politics of the Jukola House: Allegory or Exemplum?

The topos of the sea voyage and its related motifs has a specific role in the discursive world of *Seven Brothers*. The motifs of the ship, sea, storm, shipwreck, island, and harbor are used as rhetorical elements by both Juhani and Aapo. The images are introduced into the dialogue at important turning points or moments of crisis, when there is a need to explain or articulate an important communal need, event, or experience. Moreover, the motifs are employed consciously as images or metaphors for some important complex meanings—as any skillful rhetorician would do.

Is the voyage based on images and schemes just a rhetorical design through which Juhani and Aapo—and, eventually, the narrator—try to describe and explain the endeavors of the Jukola brothers within the world of the novel? Could the *topos* also be read as a carefully concealed image or even an allegorical tale of a political process in contemporary Finnish society, which was at the time going through a major political transformation as the Fennoman movement was divided between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking camps and the Finnish camp itself was disintegrating into different factions as a result of an internal power struggle? Or, is there another way of understanding the political theme of the story in relation to the contemporary political life?

Until the turn of the millennium, no one suggested that the peasant world of the novel (dating back to the 1840s) should have

30 “Mutta varhain heräsivät he seuraavana aamuna, heräsivät lähteäksensä loistoisaan kirkkoon, joka tuhansista palavista kynttilöistä kimmelsi kuin taivas tähdessä. Sieltä, koska päivä oli täydeksi valjennut, he palasivat kilvan kiitäen taas, ja viettivät entisessä Jukolassa iloisen joulupäivän.” (SV, 457)

31 “[T]ähtiä kuin otavassa / Poikia on Jukolassa” (SV, 57).

a specific relation to the political scene of Helsinki in the 1860s. There are no explicitly political readings of *Seven Brothers* based on contemporary political life in Finland, although the publication of the novel took place during a heated political debate in the Finnish Literature Society, the central organization for the Fennoman movement (see Sulkunen 2004, 137–66; Engman 2016, 110–27).³² Even Hyvärinen (2003, 71), who argues that the theme of power penetrates the novel on several levels, emphasizes that “provocatively enough, Helsinki and her political and intellectual elite is completely absent in the novel.”

The absence of political interpretations may be owed to the role Kivi had for the first Finnish-speaking academic and cultural elites that rose to the power in the first two decades of the independent Finland. Kivi was an identity figure and a symbol of the artistic spirit of the Finnish culture. Early Kivi scholars, such as Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, Viljo Tarkiainen, and V. A. Koskenniemi, established a highly idealized literary portrait of the writer-hero. Kivi became a classic and his *oeuvre* gained an irrefutable canonical status devoid of any explicit connection to politics.

His status as a canonical writer may also be the reason for why the political turn took place so late. The first changes in tone and perspective can be found in the criticism of the 1980s and 1990s, but it was in the beginning of the new century that the political themes came forth. As early as in 1985, Pertti Karkama distinguished a hilarious rebellious tone in the popular laughter and spirit of the novel. Somewhat later, Apo (2000) analyzed the brothers' social status in and their relations to the village community. In two brilliant essays, Hyvärinen (2003, 2004) brought forth the genuinely political scenes and the use of political concepts in the crucial episodes of the novel. In her book-length study, Lyytikäinen (2004) read the whole *Seven Brothers* as a wild and rebellious novel of transgression. As if a logical conclusion to the developments in research, writer Toivo Iho (2016, 10–13) reads *Seven Brothers* as an allegory of Finnish political history in the period 1850 to 1870, describing the brothers as precise equivalents to major figures in

32 The few schematic passages in Marxist studies do not connect Kivi in any concrete way to the epoch but express only the same abstract repetitive pattern of historical evolution as a collision of progress and regression, which the great writer is able to show in his masterpiece (see Palmgren 1948, 91–108; Karhu 1979, 63–65, 72–76). In her (non-Marxist) ethnographic reading of the novel, Satu Apo (2000) presents, instead, some brilliant observations regarding the brothers' social position and attitudes within the village community.

contemporary Finnish political life, and, thus, turns Kivi's story into a *roman à clef*.

The central political episode is the crisis that the brothers experience on the stone at Hiidenkivi. Aapo gives his brothers a grave warning of the immediate danger and threat of "shipwreck" that will ruin the brotherhood. The scenery surrounding Aapo's speech is colored with further motifs of the storm at sea, such as darkness and invisibility, blowing winds, heavy rain, and lightning. Aapo uses double imagery to create a strong tension in the scene in which the central elements of political crisis are presented. An enemy is threatening the community that is disintegrating because of a lack of leadership. When Aapo tells the quarreling brothers on the rock at Hiidenkivi that their "castle" is "surrounded by an enemy armed with cruel spears" (SB, 179), he is warning of the disintegration of the brotherhood. The house of Jukola is in danger of descending into a state in which confusion and chaos will seize it, unless the leader can get a grip of himself and the brothers can organize themselves and "defend the besieged castle" (SB, 179). The peace and harmony at the Jukola house is a sign of integrity and makes amiable relations with the surrounding community possible.

The question remains, whether there is a concrete supporting (textual) connection that makes it possible to link the scene to the contemporary political context, the crisis of the Fennoman movement in the 1860s. In 1863 the estates were convened by the Russian Tsar for the first time in decades. This was an important catalyst in Finnish political life. At the same time, in the birth of political public life, which centered on the question of Finland's status within the Russian empire, the topic of Finland as an independent state emerged, initially in hypothetical form in the early years of the 1860s, before Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen, in his 1869 textbook of Finnish history, presented Finland as a state without excuses. The eminent Finnish historian Osmo Jussila has argued in several books over the past twenty-five years that it was in this way that the political status of Finland was consciously re-interpreted so that the very idea of Finland as a separate political unity could be born (see Jussila 2007, 89–109). It was during this decade, a productive phase both for Kivi and for Finnish political life, that the movement split into separate factions, resulting in the establishment of the current system of political parties. The whole process of disintegration was triggered and further overshadowed by a brazen

political struggle for power and leadership of the whole national movement.³³

The connecting link to the political scene might be the letter written by Kivi in October 1869, while he was finalizing the manuscript of *Seven Brothers*. Kivi, who only rarely commented upon political life in his letters, discusses in detail the political issues of the day with his friend and supporter Thiodolf Rein. Kivi expresses his deep concerns about the Swedish-speaking party behind the journal *Dagbladet* and smashes the Finnish project by flattering and extolling August Ahlqvist and the faction behind him in order to disintegrate the group caught in the throes of a hostile power struggle. Kivi urges Rein to exert influence on the most important representatives of the group, such as Snellman and Topelius, so that they might settle the rows and found a new newspaper that would carry on the Finnish project. At the end of the letter, Kivi asks Rein to destroy the letter after reading it (Kivi 2013, 301–4).³⁴

The letter proves that Kivi had followed political events, and he was worried about them, but it does not link the events to the local world and its restricted visions of *Seven Brothers*. Kivi's imagined community is not Finland the fatherland, as the old Fennoman reading eagerly argued; it is, rather, a congregational community of a small village in Southern Häme; the geography and the vistas rarely exceed the local limits, as Hyvärinen (2004, 422–24) has shown.³⁵ This kind of imagined closure is never precise, the fictional

33 On the crisis of the Fennoman movement in the late 1850s and during the 1860s, see Tommila 1980, 64–65; Alapuro and Stenius 1987, 31–33; Liikanen 1995, 111–16; Virtanen 2002, 88–92. On the rise of the political Fennoman movement, see Rommi and Pohls 1980; Ylikangas 2007, 157–88.

34 Riikonen (2017, 37–38) reconstructs a similar political context for Kivi's poem "Storm," which Kivi published in *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti*, an organ for the young Fennomans, a faction that gathered around Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen (Kivi's supporter) against the faction that backed August Ahlqvist (Kivi's literary antagonist). But, as Riikonen (2017, 38) wisely points out, the poem is an ambiguous allegory and there is no binding link in the poem to the contemporary political scene. On the struggle between Ahlqvist and Koskinen, see also Klinge 1993.

35 A minor exception is Juhani's reminiscence of his trip to Turku market, but even here the small anecdotal story is based on a purely personal experience. In the Fennoman reading, *Seven Brothers* is a foundational narrative depicting the cultural evolution of the Finnish people and a psycho-historical drama of the nation that becomes conscious of herself through education and civilization. The idea was triggered by J. V. Snellman who in a short apology prefaced for the first edition of Kivi's *Selected Works* (1876–77) connected Kivi's work to Hegelian philosophical assumptions. On the functions and tasks of Kivi's role and work in Fennoman movement, see Nummi 2017, 25–26, 31–33.

world of the novel is essentially elliptic, and this, in turn, makes the borders of this particular world ambiguous.

The “shipwreck” on Hiidenkivi or, more broadly, in the Impivaara house is an integral part of the novel’s internal structures, undetachable from the overall work. If it is read as a portrayal of the Fennoman congregation driven to the point of chaos and disorder and the looming threat against the Finnish cause, as the author’s carefully concealed hologram of contemporary political life, it is no more a part of the novel but a separate, demarcated image of a specific historical context. Like a mirage, it disappears, as soon as you try to catch it.

There is, however, another way of reading Kivi’s hologram or mirage. Instead of taking the novel as a metaphorical account representing real-world persons, issues, and occurrences, we can approach it as a contribution to the common field of discussion and debate, defined and upheld by other writers, officials, journalists, professors, and alike. The most heated topic of the debate was how the Finnish nation should be built and governed. Kivi’s novel was, in this particular sense, an exemplum of the consequences of good and bad government of a community.³⁶ Among the great foundational narratives that the new-born Finnish nation so much needed, *Seven Brothers* was as political as the new *Kalevala* (1849) was after *das tolle Jahr* of 1848 in depicting the antagonism between the Kalevalan people and Pohjola realm, as political as Runeberg’s *The Song of Ensign Ståhl* (1848–60) was in promoting a new identity model for a new-born nation, or as political as Topelius’s *The Surgeon Stories* (1851–66) was as a fictional account of the historical evolution that led to the birth of the Finnish nation in 1809.

36 On the adaption of the exemplum to the novel, see Mazzoni 2017, 135–136. Matti Klinge (2017, 148–51, 158–69) has recently pointed out that August Ahlqvist’s three scathing reviews of *Seven Brothers* were an indirect expression of a political stand in the more or less critical situation that threatened the status of Finnish language in Finland in the turn of the 1860s and 1870s.

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The Great Famine of the 1860s in Finland: An Important Turning Point or Setback?

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Abstract

In this article, the Finnish Great Famine of the 1860s will be discussed from a number of perspectives. First, using the famine classification developed by Howe and Devereux (2007), it is analyzed at four levels: mortality rate, food supply, coping strategies, and social breakdown. The main finding is that, although the criteria of severe famine conditions were fulfilled in certain parts of the country, at the local level authorities showed competence and the local government organized help in the desperate conditions. Second, the reasons behind the famine will be considered from the point of view of the structural and event history models (Arnold 1988). I will argue that the flow of events cannot be explained without adopting both of the approaches. The system theory approach (Howe and Devereux 2004; Howe 2010) will be connected with the long-term structural explanations (Mokyr 1985). The events can be seen as a process, where different factors strengthened one another, and the culmination point came in May 1868. Third, and finally, the Great Hunger Years of the 1860s will be discussed in the overall historical context: should the famine be considered as a notable turning point in Finland's history interpretation, or was the event a harmful temporary setback on the road to national social and economic prosperity? The latter view seems to be true. The famine impoverished the country, postponed the adoption of new technology and means of production, and proved how vulnerable the one-sided, agriculturally based national economy was.

Keywords: famine, mortality, food supply, coping strategies, social breakdown

Introduction

The Great Famine of the 1860s is claimed to have been the last peacetime hunger catastrophe (famine) in Western Europe, a disaster which is notable even in world history (Ó Gráda 2009). In Finland in 1868, it meant a nearly 8 percent mortality rate for a population that stood at 1.8 million in 1867.

But how to scale the Great Hunger Years in the perspective of both historical and contemporary worldwide famines? By using the famine classification developed by Howe and Devereux (2007), the Finnish Hunger Years are analyzed at four levels: mortality rate, food supply, coping strategies, and social breakdown. The main finding is that although the criteria for severe famine conditions were fulfilled in many parts of the country, at the local level government organizations were functional and provided help to desperate, starving people. The problem was that in many cases the local administration was in a process of change, and this is why the local actions remained quite weak.

Second, I will consider the reasons behind the famine from the point of view of the structural and event history models (Arnold 1988). I will argue that the flow of events cannot be explained without adopting both of the approaches. The system theory approach (Howe and Devereux 2004; Howe 2010) will be connected with the long-term structural explanations (Mokyr 1985; Clarkson and Crawford 2001; Morris 2010; Voutilainen 2016). The long-term vulnerability of the Finnish agrarian society enabled an escalating chain of events, where several different factors interacted in a crucial way.

Third, and finally, the Great Hunger Years of the 1860s must be placed in the overall historical context: should the famine be considered as a notable turning point in the interpretation of national history, or was the event a harmful, but temporary setback on the road to national social and economic prosperity? The answer tends more to the latter interpretation. The Great Hunger Years can be seen as a huge national accident, where special heroic narratives are difficult to find.

Paul Howe and Stephen Devereux (2007) have developed a scaling system for present-day comparisons of famines. The phase designation includes factors such as mortality rate (crude death rate=CDR), malnutrition (proportion of child population, aged

0.5–5 years, below 80 percent of the median weight-for-height or below -2 Z-score weight-for-height), prevalence of edema, level of food price, adoption of special coping strategies, and social cohesiveness. The scaling includes the following phases: (0) food security conditions; (1) food insecurity conditions; (2) food crisis conditions; (3) famine conditions; (4) severe famine conditions; (5) extreme famine conditions. The corresponding mortality, malnutrition, and food security conditions with poor-relief and famine-relief descriptions are included. With certain reservations, this model can be applied to historical famines, too. It is here adapted to analyze the Great Hunger Years of Finland in the 1860s.

Mortality

Mortality was huge in the Hunger Years. In the Easter of 1868 it started and didn't stop until the Midsummer. Afterwards there were 800 widows and 300 widowers in Lavia parish.

—SKS KRK 33:264, collected in Mouhijärvi, 1935.¹

The mortality rate rose sharply in a horseshoe-shaped area starting from Häme, covering the northern parts of Satakunta, spreading then to Central Finland, and continuing to the Kainuu district and Northern Karelia (see figure 3 below). In this area, the yearly mortality rate reached 100 deaths per 10,000 inhabitants per year. In the worst districts, more than every seventh citizen died (Turpeinen 1986, 103). However, for the purpose of phase designation, the use of yearly mortality rates is somewhat misleading because the number of deaths rose critically in the late spring. The peak was in May 1868, when mortality grew five-fold as compared to non-famine years (Häkkinen, Ikonen, Pitkänen, and Soikkanen 1991, figure 1 below). During the famine, the hardest-hit areas saw crude death rates well above fifteen per day, well exceeding the threshold for extreme famine conditions established above. For instance, in Reisjärvi parish, the rate was seventy-three in a single day on May 5, and sixty-seven on the following day. In Parkano on April 9, the crude death rate was forty and in Ullava fifty on both May 5 and July 6. In Sotkamo, the worst dates were May 12 (fifty-nine) and May 20 (fifty-one). These parishes were among the five most devastated parishes in the country.² There were several areas in Finland where the criteria for

1 All epigraphs have been translated from the Finnish archival sources by the author.

2 The Church Records of Reisjärvi, Parkano, Sotkamo, and Ullava in 1868, Suomen Sukuhistoriallinen Yhdistys r.y. digital database (<http://hiski.genealogia>).

extreme famine conditions were realized.³ The high yearly mortality rate corresponded to the high short-term daily crude death rates. The acute mortality crisis was relatively short, which can be seen in an example from Sotkamo parish:

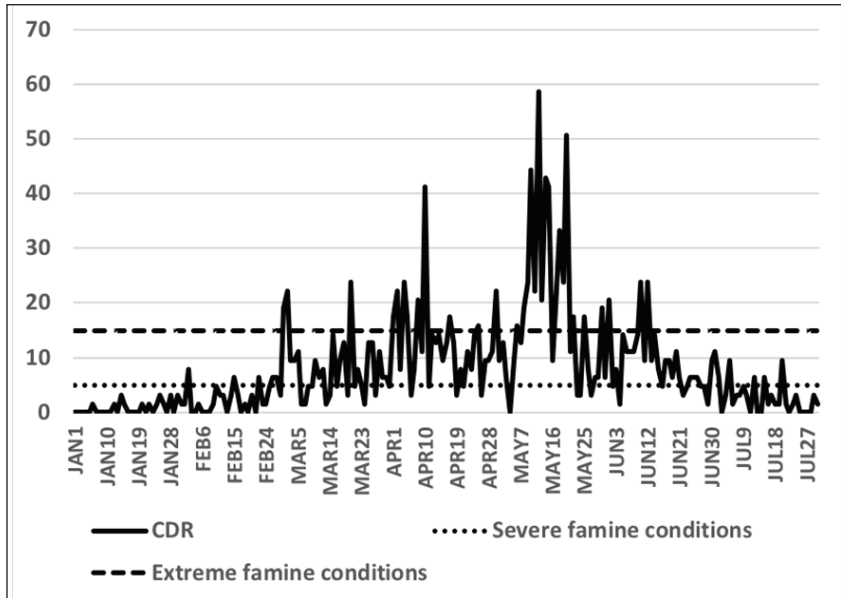


Figure 1. The daily crude death rate (CDR) in Sotkamo parish from January to July 1868. Source: The Church Records of Sotkamo parish, Suomen Sukuhistoriallinen Yhdistys ry. database; The HISKI database of the Genealogical Society of Finland (<http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski/8wxbjr?en>).

Sotkamo is an example of those parishes where the mortality crisis was deep but relatively short. A period with “severe famine conditions” started in March 1868 and lasted until July 1868. The famine escalated in two short periods, peaking between April 1 and April 10, and again between May 6 and May 22. In these weeks, the extreme famine conditions were predominant. As to the causes of death, it is notable that the first marking of “typhus” (*typhus exanthematicus*, *typhus recurrens*) is on May 5, when a 46-year-old male farm worker died from this epidemic. After that, nearly all the cases of death during the peak were marked as caused by typhus

3 Paul Howe and Stephen Devereux (2007, 38) have used a six-dimensional scaling system to define the phases of famines. Severe famine conditions and extreme famine conditions are the two most serious.

or “rödsot” (dysentery, shigellosis). In a similar way, typhus (or fever) appeared as an epidemic in the nearby parishes of Rautavaara (May 2), Hyrynsalmi (April 2), Kajaani (April 9), Kuhmo (April 7), and Puolanka (April 7), killing young and old alike, but a notably large number of these cases were people of working age, fathers and mothers of families. Under these circumstances, the societal ability to act became severely threatened.

In Ikaalinen parish, the yearly mortality rate was lower than in the northern parts of the country. However, the phase of extreme famine conditions had already been reached in June 1867, and again from February to May 1868. The following graph shows the daily crude death rate in Ikaalinen parish:

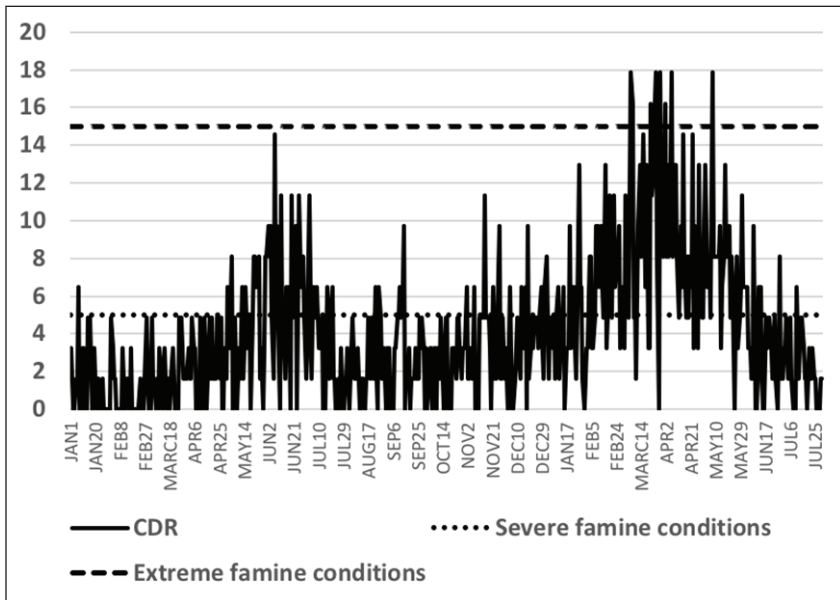


Figure 2. The daily crude death rate (CDR) in Ikaalinen parish from January 1867 to July 1868. Source: The Church Records of Ikaalinen parish, Suomen Sukuhistoriallinen Yhdistys ry. database; The HISKI database of the Genealogical Society of Finland.

Typhus exanthematicus and typhus recurrens were also the most important causes of death in Ikaalinen. Of all the 1,555 cases of death in 1867 and 1868, 59 percent were marked as “typhus.” It was an epidemic that started in May 1867 and lasted nearly to the end of 1868. In every month, typhus was clearly the leading cause of death, although other famine-related diseases were also deadly. Even smallpox had a death-rate peak in the spring of 1868. A similar

picture can be seen as well in the nearby parishes of Parkano and Hämeenkyrö, although the causes of death were not established.

The peak period of the highest mortality rate was relatively short, only a couple of weeks, although in the periods before and after the most difficult times, the mortality rate was higher in comparison to the non-famine periods. The famine-related diseases, especially typhus, explain the peaks of mortality well. Because the peaks were relatively simultaneous in different parts of the country, there has to have been a causal factor or factors that explain the huge growth in mortality rates. The local relief organizations, both small and large, as well as temporary hospitals and work houses collected poor people together under circumstances in which the quality of care was extremely poor in most cases. Mortality in these places was incredibly high (Häkkinen 1994).

Hunger

I was living at a crossroads along the way to Kuopio and Leppävirta. I was able to see a huge stream of people, roaming hungry and begging. Most of them came from Ostrobothnia, but also from this parish and those nearby.

—SHS 6.1, collected at Suonenjoki parish, 1916.

My mother told me that here were so many who starved to death, during the Great Hunger Years, that every Sunday there were dozens to be buried, and not everyone had even a coffin, some kinds of boxes and sacks were in use, and some were so skeletal, and others were like stocks, so tumefied and swelled.

—SKS 8385, collected at Uusikirkko, 1938.

There are several collections of reminiscences of the Great Hunger Years of the 1860s. Contemporary testimonies include descriptions of large-scale hunger and the eating of every kind of substitute. However, it is not possible to define the number of undernourished people or the prevalence of edema exactly. We have estimated that, assuming that all the grain storages were empty, the nationwide shortage of grain was about 1,820,000 barrels (Häkkinen et al. 1991, 85, where we compared the crops of 1861 and 1867 with each other). Only 14 percent of the total grain shortage was covered by the export (Turpeinen 1986, 158). Theoretically, the average need for extra foodstuffs was a little over 100 liters of grain for every citizen. In fact, the situation was much more difficult, because the need for food was not equally divided between the

provinces, between the countryside and towns, and between social classes (Voutilainen 2016). Under the circumstances of a poor market system and a ruined economy, along with difficult conditions for transport, the situation soon became dire.

The contemporary official data on the yearly crops have been criticized for false optimism. It is obvious that the severity of the situation was not known before the tours of inspection by two senators, Samuel Wilhelm Antell and Oscar Norrmén. The former was sent to the provinces of Oulu, Kuopio, and Mikkeli; the latter visited the provinces of Turku and Pori, Häme, and Vaasa. Both expeditions were carried out in the turn of the years 1867 and 1868. In every province, the senators organized meetings of priests, doctors, shopkeepers, peasants, and the heads of the rural police, in order to ascertain the local situation in regard to foodstuff, seed-corn, relief work, social order, and future plans. The reports of the two senators are startling to read. Especially in the north, the crop failure had been nearly total and the number of people in grave danger was immense. The extensive landless population was in especial danger of severe starvation. The situation was also difficult in some areas in Turku and Pori, Häme, and Vaasa provinces. The common observation was that in all the districts the local authorities and power-holders had done nearly nothing to escape the disaster (Reports of Antell and Norrmén, the archives of the financial affairs of the Senate, National Archives).

By putting the information together, it is possible to reconstruct the situation from the perspective of the locals. In the hope of receiving extra resources, they may have overestimated the losses, but in the big picture, the general view seems to have been quite realistic. In the three northern provinces, the need for food supply was about 785,000 barrels of grain. The population share with an acute need for help was 58 percent of the total population in Oulu province, 56 percent in Kuopio, and 41 percent in Mikkeli. The information delivered by Senator Norrmén was not so exact, but by using the information, it is possible to mark areas where the shortage of foodstuffs was the most crucial in 1867–68 (see figure 3 below). The marked hunger areas match well with the areas of highest mortality. This links the factors of the degree of crop failure, the share of the landless population, and the mortality rate in a chain (see Voutilainen 2016). In this rejected area, extreme famine conditions ruled.



Coping

It was common to carry beggars from house to house by a horse and a sledge, all the day, ill and healthy, from own parish or outside. . . . I remember that in the middle of the winter there were approximately 35–50 beggars in a day. And in our home there were never fewer than 5, 6, 7 beggars at a time.

— SHS 6.1, collected at Suonenjoki parish, 1917.

As already mentioned above, there was a huge number of landless people who had no alternative than to leave home and go begging. Approximately 100,000 individuals were forced to seek outside help and the mercy of others (Häkkinen 1992, 156). This extreme coping strategy was against the law and, especially in the early phase of the famine, the local authorities carried beggars back to their home parishes. When the stream of beggars shot up rapidly, these preventative methods became impossible. The beggars were claimed to cause trouble and to increase thefts. They were seen to pose a risk of social conflict and even riots. Economically, they were considered harmful. The risk of epidemics was connected to the migrating poor.

Begging existed in local and long-distance contexts. The so-called “three-church wanderers” (Fin. *kolmen kirkon kiertäjät*) were local people moving in a restricted area (i.e., metaphorically within the realm of three churches), who went to neighboring houses to ask for bread and help. Often they were children and women. This type of begging was traditional, and the authorities only seldom tried to stop them. When the situation became worse, whole families started to wander. They traveled toward areas with better-off towns and centers. Another type of begging involved men who were seeking work. Often they solicited the relief works or private places of employment. The large canal worksites and the Riihimäki-Pietari railway construction were often targeted sources of jobs. Whole families migrated to Ruija in northern Norway. People from eastern Finland especially moved to Russia, but many of them succeeded in returning to Finland when the better years came.

For the beggars, leaving was a risk. The mortality rate was higher among those who left their home parishes (Pitkänen 1992). The comparison is probably not fair, because the alternative option, staying home, would have meant certain death. The problems of wandering included the spread of fatal diseases, especially the two types of typhus. It is obvious that the beggars often secured lodging in houses with unfavorable conditions, where the spreading of fatal

diseases was unavoidable. All in all, begging was an understandable reaction. The primary areas of both departure and arrival in the long-distance migration can be seen in figure 3. Naturally they match with the two previous areas well. They strengthen the picture of severe famine conditions.

Another option was staying at home and trying to survive with substitutes. All kinds of food substitutes were in use. Bark bread had been known historically for centuries, but bread was also made of lichen, straw, husk, arum, birch, common reed, and even grass. In the lake and sea regions, fishing was an option. But in the wintertime, all extra food was not easy to collect, carry, store, or prepare. Some of the substitutes were harmful; most of them were quite calorie-deficient. The local relief aid was scanty, and hungry people had to pay for their food by working for the food provider. Even ill people, women, and children had to work for bread.

In the late spring of 1868, extra working houses were established for those poor who were able to work. People in these houses were forced to work strenuously and the food provided was low in calories and unbalanced from the nutritional point of view. Soon these houses changed from work houses to temporary hospitals (Häkkinen et al. 1991, 141–48).

Social Breakdown?

To create a new secular municipal administration, a constitutive meeting was held on April 23, 1867 in the local parsonage. The selected authorities have left no written documents of their possible activities. Probably the church parish meeting of Ilmajoki handled the things of this [kind] in Jalasjärvi too.

—EPO 1119, collected at Jalasjärvi parish, 1915.

The questions of social order and its possible disruption were crucial. It had only been a couple of years since the January Uprising, a rebellion against the Russian Empire in Poland and Lithuania that began in January of 1863, and which was only finally—and bloodily—quelled by the Russian army in June of 1864. Compared with the European hunger riots of past centuries, the peacefulness of the Finnish political situation is somewhat surprising. There were some separate conflicts but generally speaking the government was not threatened at all, although these kinds of ideas might have concerned the ruling elite. On the local level, all kinds of illegal acts were perpetrated, but they were directed towards property, not the legal order (Häkkinen et al. 1991, 176–94; Klinge 1997, 239).

The decade of the 1860s was a period of big economic and social reforms, of which the change of local government from a church-based system to a secular one is highly relevant to the topic of this article. The change was in process at the time of the famine, and it might have created uncertainty about the practical arrangement and responsibilities between the church and state. When the church had no power in organizing poor relief, the secular institutions inherited the duties. This change met several difficulties (Soikkanen 1966). The local parish council had many new obligations, but these were difficult to carry out because of meager resources on the one hand and the church's unwillingness to use available funds, on the other. In the above-mentioned reports of the two senators, the nearly total inactivity of the local authorities was commonly noticed. Thus the provincial governors had to force the local authorities to organize relief works and aid. The new statute for local government took effect on February 6, 1865.

The problem was also deeply rooted in the power hierarchies. The social order was locally based in a system of so-called legal protection, that is, a patriarchal, family-based cultivation and control system founded on land ownership and supported by a strong system of norms and control. Power was hierarchically concentrated to the landowners, but it also obligated them to provide for the livelihood of the people within their sphere of authority. In return, the members of the community had to commit themselves to serve their masters and participate in production. Their rights to emigrate were strictly limited (Pulma 1994, 59–61). The system had proved inefficient and contradictory even before the 1860s. Although it no longer functioned properly, its inherent power relations were still enforced (Soininen 1974, 382–415). On the local level, the contradictions resulted in constant, but single and limited, conflicts, which threatened to crumble the ideological basis of the system (Kallio 1982, 147–59, 277–85; Häkkinen 1989). Under this system, the indigent people able to work were forced to work in agricultural production in one way or another. The elderly with no providers, children, and the disabled lived with families who took care of them, permanently or temporarily, based on the so-called rotation system. Poor relief, relief work, almshouses, begging, and work houses complemented the system (Piirainen 1958).

In 1917, the Finnish Historical Society organized a project, the aim of which was to collect all kinds of information (documents, private writings, and memories) for the years 1867 and 1868. A special inquiry was sent to all the municipalities. They were asked

to explain the local circumstances, especially the activities of the local authorities and the meaning of the new governmental system. The project received answers from seventy-nine rural municipalities, covering the whole country quite well, except Lapland, Northern Ostrobothnia, and some areas in Southern Ostrobothnia and Southwest Finland. The responses revealed that only in the region of Southwest Finland was the secular local government system properly adopted. Everywhere else in the countryside, the clergy or other church clericals took care of both the religious and secular issues. Under famine conditions, the tasks were insurmountable. This fact together with the above-mentioned knowledge of silence in poor-relief activities explains a lot. There were only a few activists, there was less activism, and when the operations against hunger at last really started, it was too late. The inquiry proves that some precautions were in place, including the promotion of home-level handicraft activities and the collecting of food substitutes, but both of these remained weak, unnecessary, or even harmful.

The hunger crisis shook the practices that maintained the legal protection system. The collective crisis broke the networks of the unofficial aid system, important for the survival of many individuals. When the system provided by the community and church failed, the poor were left with two avenues of survival. They could stay within the sphere of the local community and trust the shelter provided by the poor-relief system, or they could move out in search of bread and work. The former choice represented sticking to the sphere of social relationships and institutions of the system of legal protection. Leaving meant transgressing local mental and physical limitations, casting oneself at the mercy of unknown circumstances, and defying the statutes concerning migration. During the famine, nearly 100,000 individuals left their village communities looking for food (Häkkinen et al. 1991). Given two options—"exit or voice" (Hirschmann 1970)—the choice of exit explains the partial breakdown of the social system without any notable riots. When an organized system never existed, the fall was not remarkable. The effects on the patriarchal legal protection system were more crucial.

In figure 3, one of the main facts about the hunger years becomes evident. In the horseshoe-like area in eastern Finland, the main processes occurred. It was an area of the greatest need for extra foodstuffs. It was an area with a huge amount of landless population. It was a region where the majority of people tried to leave. It was an unfavorable area with the highest mortality rate.

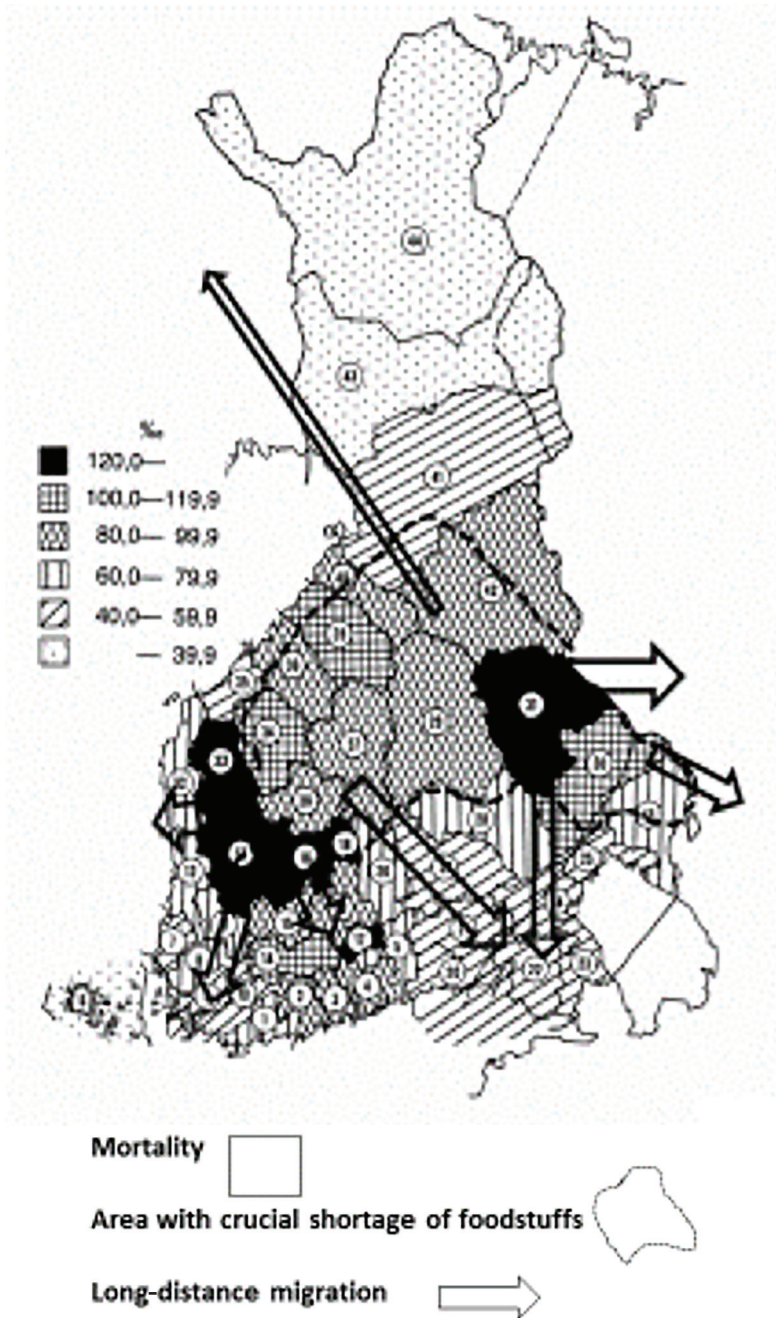


Figure 3. Mortality rate (0/00) in the Finnish countryside 1868, areas where the shortage of foodstuffs was the most crucial in 1867–68, and directions of long-distance migration in the 1860s. Sources: Turpeinen 1986, 103; Häkkinen 1992, 151; 1990b, 117.

The Flow of Events

The famine can be seen as long-term structural development, where social vulnerability is a key factor. The question is not only one of poor infrastructure or unfavorable weather conditions, but an unequal social system, where one part of the population is in a vulnerable position, a situation where food security is not fulfilled (Sen 1981; Mokyr 1985; Voutilainen 2016). As Voutilainen (2016) has shown, a remarkable portion of the population in the Finnish countryside lived in that kind of position, lacking the power to secure food in an unfavorable situation, even though sufficient food existed to feed every citizen. From another perspective, the famine can be seen as a cumulative chain of events with each event entangled with the others. The early frost caused a crop failure, which raised the price of foodstuffs. An increase in unemployment and a lack of food created migrations, which led to the organization of relief work and aid. However, the migrating population spread diseases, which in concentrated workplaces resulted in high rates of mortality. The high mortality rates generated international sympathy, which led to large-scale famine aid. The external aid increased the concentration of population and caused local food production and markets to collapse, thus lengthening the crisis (Howe and Devereux 2004; Howe 2010; Häkkinen and Newby 2018).

We have to remember that the famine of the 1860s was exceptional because of its depth, not because of its uniqueness. Periodic crop failures happened in cycles through years or decades, and difficulties in food distribution, hunger, and epidemic diseases and the resulting high mortality rate typically characterized the Finnish agrarian community throughout the nineteenth century. War was often the third factor contributing to the devastation (Häkkinen 1994). An extreme-risk society reflected the basic conditions and framework of life in the countryside. Although the crises began with unfavorable natural circumstances, an early frost, these circumstances transformed into a social phenomenon when the right to food became problematic, when the freeholders raised the price of the foodstuffs, lowered laborers' wages, fired workers, restricted the benefits of the so-called barter economy, and, at least initially, refused to organize local relief aid and instead fended off those seeking help. The poverty of the famine years led to a debate of the issues of ownership and the right to food (Voutilainen 2016). The policy under which work was demanded as a precondition of aid and was organized as a system of work houses was one of the main reasons for the catastrophe; both personal and structural reasons

prevented the poor from fulfilling the demands of reciprocity, and the organizers often lacked the resources, will, or skill to carry out their duties (Turpeinen 1986, 177–79; Voutilainen 2016). A large share of the population lived constantly at the minimum subsistence level where even a minor crop failure resulted in a critical situation, and this population remained so defenseless that its scant livelihood might be threatened by non-economic factors (Häkkinen et al. 1991, Häkkinen and Peltola 2001, 310–14; Häkkinen and Forsberg 2015).

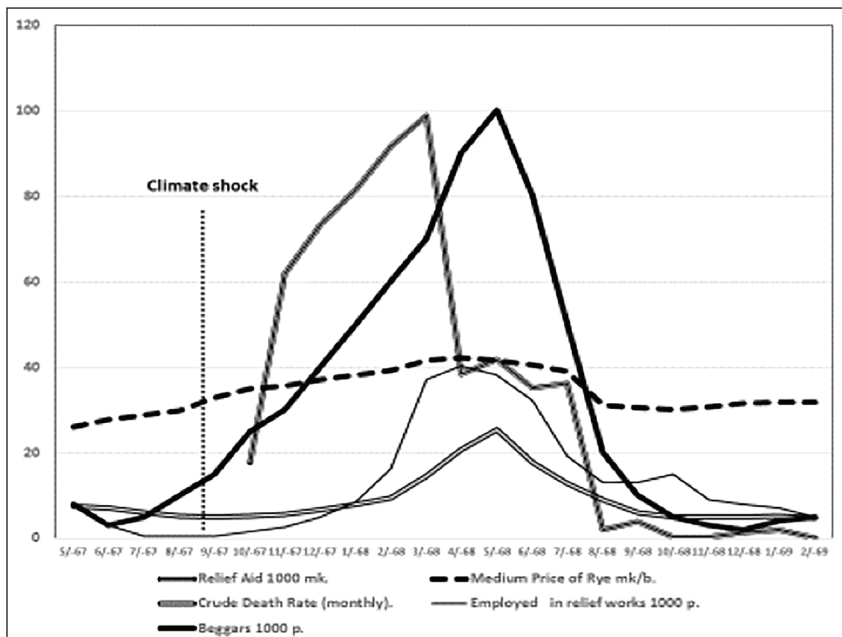


Figure 4. Monthly rye prices, relief aid, employed persons, migrants, and death rate from May 1867 to February 1868. Sources: Pitkänen 1993, Appendix table 3; Häkkinen et al. 1991, 67–83, 129–57, 170–72; Häkkinen 1992, 125–47; Turpeinen 1986, 160–61, 171–79.

In figure 4, the flow of the events is illustrated by using the data mentioned below. The dating of the moves of the beggars is approximated by using communal records and partly by oral history data.

Looking at the picture one can deduce that both on the national and local levels, the relief actions started very late (in the February of 1868), food prices continued to rise (reflecting the shortage of food), begging streams broadened all through the fall, and relief aid was already available, although it was limited.

As noted above, there was a large landless population living in the same areas where the harvest crop was the most disastrous. Begging was one of the most important coping strategies. Long-distance migration for food and work was adopted largely in the horseshoe-like area in eastern parts of Finland (see figure 3). When the large-scale relief work places were open (for example, Riihimäki–Pietari railway construction, Lapinlahti and Nerkoo channel works), people traveled to the areas that offered employment by the railroad. When more and more relief aid was received, small relief jobs were organized in nearly every parish. Following the orders of the central power, temporary hospitals and work-houses were organized to feed people and to prevent wandering, and perhaps social unrest, too.

The temporary hospitals earned a reputation as death traps. People tried to avoid these places like the plague (Häkkinen et al. 1991, 141–48). But the reputation was based on a half truth, because there were examples of hospitals with good care, sufficient medical professionals, and good food (Turpeinen 1986, 200): in the wealthier areas in southern and southeast Finland, local authorities were able to supply better conditions for the starving and sick people coming from the north. This was not possible in the horseshoe area, where the term “death trap” was a rather apt trope. Instead of the centralized system of poor relief that was in use, a more flexible arrangement of supplying food and care could—and should—have been adopted. However, this option was rejected because of poor resources. There was a lack of material and human resources, which, in such a limited time, could not possibly be organized (Häkkinen 1990a).

The famine was followed by a slow recovery. Voutilainen (2016) has emphasized how negative and long-lasting the economic aftermaths of the famine were. For the tenants, the Great Hunger Years were followed by delays in technological reforms and adoption of new cultivating methods. Bankruptcies were common, and several landowners lost their farms after the difficult years (Peltonen 1992; Virrankoski 2012, 215). Mentally, the famine cast a long shadow, transmitted from generation to generation as tales of horror (Forsberg 2017).

Looking Back at the Hunger Years

Before the Great Hunger Years, every other year was a bad year. There hardly is an old person who hadn't had an experience of eating bark bread as a youth, except those descendants of big houses.

There were beggars even in so-called normal years, but during the famine there were crowds of begging people. In most places they were given bread. [. . .] They just starved to death quietly. [. . .] The hopeless cry of the young children cannot be remembered by even the roughest guys without tears in their eyes.

—SKS PK34:6135, collected at Pielisjärvi parish, 1938.

In Finnish historiography, the Great Famine Years are often presented as an economic, mental, and even political turning point in history. It is said to have shaken the old, traditional, stagnant society and forced people to adopt new ways of thinking and work. But often the famine has been left in the shadow of the big reforms of the 1860s (Jutikkala and Pirinen 1979; Singleton 1998, 86, 88; Kirby 2006, 112–13; Virrankoski 2012, 215). If the Great Hunger Years of the 1860s are intended to be placed in an overall historical context when writing the nation's history, should these years be considered a great turning point, or only a harmful but temporary setback on the road to the nation's social and economic prosperity?

It is indisputable that the famine years of the 1860s deeply shook the foundations of the agrarian community. Although other opinions exist (Voutilainen 2016), by marking the end of a long development trend, the crisis revealed and brought into the light numerous problems: an underdeveloped, even old-fashioned agricultural production process; the desperate lack of capital; the poor state of infrastructure; the primitive nature of labor and market; and the huge problems of administration and communication (Pihkala 1982; Häkkinen et al. 1991). As mentioned above, the hunger crisis also shook the practices maintaining the legal protection system. The collective crisis broke the networks of the unofficial aid system, important for the survival of many individuals. When the system provided by the community failed, the poor were left with two avenues of survival. This was a strong hit against the legality of the local social order.

The mental social order was shaken, too. If we name the landless population as a social underclass, this differentiated social position had been for centuries legitimated by religion. The Lutheran Church had a central position in teaching and controlling the life and ideology of people (Diaries of the Church Councils 1814–1892, archives of the parishes, National Archives of Finland). Its position of authority was challenged only in a few individual cases or covertly. However, this apparent harmony was challenged more and more toward the end of the nineteenth century (Böök 1912;

Nenonen 1992; Suni 2014). This phenomenon of secularization was followed by the disintegration of social units, disappointment with the broken sense of community, and a rise in new ways of thinking and action (Häkkinen 1992).

The vast population migration impacted local systems of social relationships. In poor regions, entire villages lost their inhabitants, farms went uncultivated, and the consequences of the crisis were felt long into the future. However, the migration from the poor regions created new life patterns and opportunities for survivors. The migration hastened the process of urbanization and facilitated emigration in the decades following the famine years. As a social movement of the poor, mass beggary and migration shattered basic ideas about legal protection and the close community modes of operation, and the crisis led to questions about the ideological foundation of the system. Typical features of wandering and migration later on included spontaneity, aimlessness, and a lack of organization. As a social movement, it highlighted the problems of agrarian mass poverty, and at the same time it was an instantaneous and temporary solution to the growing question of the relative surplus population (Häkkinen and Peltola 2001; Häkkinen and Forsberg 2015).

The landless population in the countryside was considered a socially dangerous lower class. Instead of the creation of social policy programs, administrative institutions and control practices were developed (Häkkinen et al. 1991, 250–72; Jaakkola 1994, 91–93). In order to control the new class, legislation regarding poor relief and vagrancy was reformed and the number of official institutions increased. While collective activity during the famine years of the 1860s amounted to no more than feeble attempts, the event itself and its aftermath played their part in the formation of new political-structural activity. The underclass emerged in reality and as a political concept. The Great Famine Years were the primary manifestation, and the control system was a reaction against the perceived dangers and the “hard” social policy that was in use (Häkkinen 1990a).

After all, how was the terrible catastrophe possible? We still need more information and more study about the events at the local level. Now that church records are much easier to access than before, detailed analyses of the cruel connections between social position, hunger, action, mercy, hardheartedness, coping, disease, and death can be carried out. We know the general lines of that particular history. We have a lot of famine-related oral history

material to study. What is needed is a detailed micro-level analysis of the events. In a way, the Great Hunger Years were one of the factors behind the great reforms at the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the next. It was probably a kind of fight for independence against hunger, but with quite poor results.

Unlike with many other famines in history, the Finns could not blame any external power for their suffering. The Russian empire was willing to deliver more relief aid to Finland, but this was received with suspicious feelings. The reforms of the 1860s had strengthened the autonomous position of Finland, and the national elite was unwilling to risk this promising development. The dreams of independence might have turned into a negative factor in the nation's struggle to survive the famine years.

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National Identity and the Shaping of Finnish Food Taste

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Abstract

This article examines the development of Finnish food taste during the nineteenth century when the process of canning, railroads, and steamships started breaking down the role of the environment as the principal factor in determining food habits. Food was one of the symbols that the Finnish national identity was built on before independence in 1917. The research is mostly based on the National Library's Digital Collections, which contain newspapers and magazines published in Finland before the 1920s. "National dishes" were mentioned in Finnish newspapers from the beginning of the 1880s. Highlighting the traditional Finnish foods attracted support, and newspapers tried, for example, to give talkkuna an authentic national significance. Finnish authorities were building a nation-state in the spirit of nationalism, yet the national food identity relied heavily on imported goods. Certain elements of Finnish food preferences date back to manufactured foods that came from other parts of Europe. Influences adopted from Switzerland were reflected in the popularity of Emmental cheese. By the beginning of the twentieth century, certain imported foods had become a part of the national food identity: coffee was considered the national beverage and rice and herring as supremely Finnish foods even though none of these goods were produced in Finland. Foods based on imported raw materials was marketed by emphasizing their "domestic origin" and Finnish brand in the early 1900s. Emmental was, for example, sometimes advertised as "Finnish 'Swiss' cheese."

Keywords: Finland, food history, national identity

Introduction

National identities are one of the most important wellsprings of cultural identity. We feel we are citizens of a certain country, yet the national identities that we assume are more imaginary than real or encoded in our genes. Individuals are not only citizens of a particular nation; they also participate in the *idea* of the nation, which is acted out through its national culture. The story of the nation consists of the landscapes, historical events, national symbols, and rituals that individuals use to make themselves a part of the great narrative (Hall and du Gay 1996). Food was one of the national symbols that Finnish national identity was built on before Finland gained its independence in 1917.

In the book *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* (1997, 189), David Bell and Gill Valentine argue that the “food-stuffs we think of as [. . .] part of a particular nation’s sense of identity often hide complex histories of trade links, cultural exchange, and especially colonialism.” National food tastes are a challenging object of study, but methods of historical research can be applied to investigate the reasons and mechanisms involved in the shaping of the food preferences of different nations over the centuries. According to a structuralist approach, tastes can be seen as socially controlled and culturally shaped (Mennell, Murcott, and Otterloo 1992, 8). Peter Atkins and Ian Bowler (2001, 253–72) have sought the origins of taste in their studies on the evolution of diets. According to them, taste has very strong (socio)cultural aspects, even if it is also biological and psychological in nature.

The goal of this article is to examine the development of Finnish food taste. The nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were an important turning point in food history, and there are a great variety of relevant sources available, for example, newspaper and magazine articles as well as food-related advertisements. I have used the National Library’s Digital Collections (<http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi>), which contain the newspapers and magazines published in Finland before the 1920s. I chose specific keywords (such as *kansallisruoka* ‘national dish’) to find relevant material from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century magazines and newspapers. After that, I used content analysis to draw conclusions from the digitized material. I also used unprinted documents, such as toll registers, and printed material, such as cookbooks, as my sources. Cookbooks usually tell about the eating habits and everyday cooking of the period. I am interested in finding out what the Finns ate (or what cookbook writers thought the Finns might have

wanted to eat) at the end of the time of the Grand Duchy in Finland (Knuuttila 2006, 47–57).

The approach is partly based on environmental history. The question is, how did the environment and the climate shape the development of food tastes during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? This article also investigates the connections and trade links through which Finns were introduced to the new foods they adopted as part of their cuisine and their cultural and national identity. All of the information must be analyzed in its historical context. Finland and its food culture were modernizing and globalizing at the time, but the shaping of Finnish food tastes has also been determined by a scarcity of supply and the limited resources typical of the harsh conditions of the north (see also Bennett et al. 2009). During the 1860s, Finland went through years of poor harvests and great hunger (including the famine of 1866–68), which caused a nationwide catastrophe (Kylli 2015, 237; Häkkinen, this issue). There was also a shortage of food, and the rationing of food supplies took place in Finland in the late 1910s, during the First World War (Rautavirta 2010, 34–39).

Finnish food tastes have changed recently, within a relatively short time, as increased travel has made Finns more familiar with exotic foods. Immigrants have also brought exotic tastes through the ethnic restaurants they have established: Asian restaurants, for example, have introduced many formerly unknown fruits to Finnish consumers (Nyman 2004, 242–43). Although horizons have expanded and the choice of available foods has increased, Finns still tend to love herring, coffee, tinned pineapple, milk chocolate, rice porridge, and Emmental cheese—the same foods that were popular at the time when Finland gained its independence. According to the 1970s food survey, pineapple was one of the most popular canned foods in eastern Finland, in addition to pea soup, fish, and meatballs (Räsänen 1980, 23). At the same time, Emmental and Edam were Finland's most popular cheeses (Sillanpää 1999, 194). Finland has been among the world's top cheese-consuming nations (per capita) after France. Even Switzerland, the land from where Emmental cheese-making practices were initially imported to Finland, is left behind in such rankings. In the consumption of coffee, Finland ranks number one in the world ahead of Norway, Iceland, Denmark, and the Netherlands (Worldwide Annual Coffee Consumption 2011; Global Cheese Consumption 2015). Rice porridge is still, in the twenty-first century, one of the first recipes in *Kotiruoka* (Home

food), the most popular and one of the longest-running cook-books in Finland (Isotalo and Kuittinen 2000, 58).

Breaking Down the Role of the Environment

In the early modern period—the time before the nineteenth century—there was no such thing as a national cuisine. There were, however, regional foods, and different foods were available for the wealthy and the poor (Albala 2003, 115). At the same time, the wealthiest people wanted to overcome the limitations of region and obtain the foods of their choice from distant surroundings (Montanari 2006, 19). Climate affected food culture and, in turn, the identity of the people living in a particular area. Fresh fruit—that had been partially cooked by the sun—was a symbol of prosperity and civilization already in the Roman world (Spencer 2011). Food from far away was highly regarded for as long as preferences and valuations can be traced back in the historical record. In the northern castle of Oulu for example, hosts receiving highly regarded guests did not want to offer them local foods, such as salted salmon, meat, and dry rye bread. Instead, white bread, German beer, and Rhineland wines were ordered for the anticipated royal visit of 1616 (Vilkama, Kylli, and Salmi 2016, 18–19).

Trade connections became more frequent towards the late eighteenth century, and Finland became part of a modernizing, consumption-driven international community in an entirely new way. The 1760s have been considered a decade of great globalization, when increasing flows of goods from abroad were, for the first time, more likely to reach even the northernmost periphery. At the same time, food started to become an increasingly important instrument for constructing one's social identity. The Finnish (Swedish-speaking) gentry started underscoring their identity by obtaining the most exotic imported foods possible for their dinner tables (Ballantyne 2002, 116–17; Vilkama, Kylli, and Salmi 2016).

Finland was part of the Swedish realm until 1809, when it became a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. It remained part of Russia until gaining independence in 1917. Finland's traditional food culture reflected its geographic location between Russia and Sweden: oven-baked dishes, such as Karelian stew, were more common in the east, and the bread cultures of eastern and western Finland were different as well. In eastern Finland, there were wood-burning ovens in living rooms, and people baked bread every week and made other kinds of oven dishes as well. In western Finland, bread was baked in separate ovens less frequently, and

it was dried after baking. Food taste was also somewhat different in the east and the west (Vuorela 1976; Snellman 2016, 167). There were also other kinds of regional identities, for example the Swedish-speaking Finns in the coastal areas and Sámi in the northernmost Lapland, and these groups had different kinds of food tastes (Kosonen 2008, 23; Jokela and Linkola 2013, 269). Until the early nineteenth century, inhabitants of the area that is now known as Finland mostly relied on locally produced foods. The regular diet of peasants and workers consisted of side pork sauce, potatoes, rye bread, salted Baltic herring, and gruel. Cabbage and peas had traditionally been made into stews, and wild berries were picked from forests (Vilkama, Kylli, and Salmi 2016, 17).

Nature and the home fields could not, however, provide everything that was needed in the daily diet. The relatively low amounts of sunshine in northern Europe and the low salinity of the Baltic Sea made it impossible to produce salt by evaporating sea water (Kurlansky 2012, 116–28). Salt was imported to Finland at an early stage, and it was often accompanied by herring. Herring is a good example of an imported food that became suitable for Finnish tastes. The history of salted herring goes back several centuries to ancient trade routes—in the case of Finland, it dates back to at least the seventeenth century. In the Middle Ages, herring fishing was mostly done in Danish hands, while in the seventeenth century the Netherlands became the center of herring fishing and the herring trade. The herring fished by the Dutch from the North Sea was frequently imported to the Baltic ports (Smylie 2004, 43–51; Poulsen 2008).

Convention, tradition, and routine are the oldest social mechanisms for transforming cultural codes into concrete choices (Ilmonen 2007, 182–83). Herring was still a very common staple of cookery books in the 1910s. A book called *Kansan kotiruoka ja kotitalous* (Folk's home food and household), published in 1910 by Amalia Grönberg, Edit Reinilä, and Valma Krank, contains recipes for herring boiled in an onion sauce, vinegar herring, herring caviar, and herring baked in paper. There are even more herring recipes in a book called *200 ruokaohjetta yksinäisille: Yhden hengen keittokirja* (200 food recipes for the lonely: A cookbook for the single person), published in 1919, compared to the number of other fish recipes. The book contains recipes for salted herring, herring fried with charcoal, herring boiled with an egg, egg jelly herring, herring stew, herring balls, cooked fresh herring, fried fresh herring, and fresh herring casserole.

The salt ships, returning from the Mediterranean (and other salt-producing areas) to Finland also brought raisins, rice, and other imported products with them. Along with herring, rice was soon an established part of Finnish food culture, and it became common among those who could afford it in Finland (see, e.g., Account books, NAF). A ship that sailed from Amsterdam to Pietarsaari in 1814 carried tobacco, rice, coffee, salt, cheese, Rhineland wine, and rum (Ships to Finland: Eric Øberg from Jacobstad. DNA). Rice porridge was the constitutive element of the Finnish Christmas table during the nineteenth century. Christmas was one of the holiest celebrations of the year, a time for the very best foods and dishes. Grains of rice purchased from the store made it a more solemn and festive occasion, although domestic barley would also have been easily available (*Kaiku* 1878; *Sanomia Turusta* 1901; *Oulun Ilmoituslehti* 1903). Finns saw rice porridge as a fancy dish because it was white and it was boiled in milk (Sillanpää 1999, 65). According to one newspaper article, written in 1912 (*Liitto*, September 3), many Finns thought that rice porridge did not only taste very good, but it was also better-looking than flour porridge or talkkuna. (*Talkkuna* means a certain kind of flour mixture or talkkuna powder, which was mixed with buttermilk or milk [Talve 1961, 50].)

Rice porridge was initially eaten only as a feast food and by the wealthiest of people living in towns, but during the late nineteenth century it also became more common among the lower classes and in rural areas (see, e.g., *Liitto* 1912). Anna Friberg's cookbook *Kansan Keittokirja* (Folk's cookbook), published in 1893, contained meal suggestions for four weeks. The dishes included rice grain casserole, *riisiryyniloota* (first week, Tuesday); rice grain gruel, *riisiryynivelli* (second week, Monday); rice grain soup, *riisiryynisoppa* (third week, Tuesday); and rice grain porridge, *riisiryynipuuro* (fourth week, Saturday). Friberg had written her book for Finnish working-class families, as according to her, many workers had recently begun to replace warm meals with coffee and bread (Knuuttila 2006, 191–92). The Finnish cookbook *Kotiruoka: Keittokirja kotia ja koulua varten* (Home cooking: A cookbook for home and school), published for the first time in 1908, contained recipes for many rice-filled pies, rice puddings, casseroles, croquettes, and so forth (Reinilä, Calonius, and Krank [1908] 2008). During the food shortages in the latter half of the 1910s, many working-class families were really longing for rice porridge, as they were used to eating it over the past decades (*Työläinen* 1919).

Finns had eaten herring and rice already before the nineteenth century, but the environment played in many other respects a decisive role in the selection of foods and the development of food tastes in Finland before the latter part of the nineteenth century. The principal factors that influenced the availability of imported foods were Finland's northerly location and the cold climate, which often kept the sea frozen for more than six months in a year (Vilkama, Kylli, and Salmi 2016). This contributed to the popularity of dried and tinned fruit: attempts to import fruit to the northernmost reaches of Europe were made early on, but the fruit were usually dried plums, figs, and raisins (Account books 1814–16, NAF).

Inventions made in the nineteenth century started to gradually break down the role of the environment as the principal factor determining food and consumption habits. One crucial invention was made already in the first half of the nineteenth century: the process of canning. The French confectioner Nicholas Appert (1752–1841) invented a method for airtight canning during the Napoleonic Wars in the first years of the nineteenth century. His invention was a good indication of how humanity during the nineteenth century strove to break free of the limitations imposed by nature. The pineapple was a highly regarded tropical fruit in Europe—it was (with its crown) “the king of fruits,” which was also so perishable that it could not take the long voyage from the pineapple fields to European dinner tables without spoiling. In the nineteenth century, the invention of airtight food preservation made it more readily available, first in North America and soon also in Europe (Péhaut 1999, 463–67).

Traffic conditions changed tremendously during the nineteenth century and influenced European food tastes. Steamships and railroads started to bring fresh fruit to customers faster than ever. The newspaper *Kauppalhti* wrote in 1898 about how much Finnish eating and consumption habits had been changed during the time of the Grand Duchy of Finland. In the early nineteenth century, most Finns were still living primarily in rural inland areas and visited the city only once or twice a year to buy some of the most necessary goods, such as salt and iron, to cover their needs for the year. The newspaper wrote: “But now it is different. When transportation started to develop, and especially when our railroad network began to expand inland, there was a change in our production circumstances, in a much more modern direction.”¹ The

1 All translations into English are by the author. Original text: “Mutta nyt on jo toisin. – Kun kulkuneuvot alkoivat kehittyä ja varsinkin sitten, kun rautatieverkkomme alkoi laajeta sisämaahan, on muutos tuotanto-oloissamme sangen

main source of livelihood in the past had been farming, but now animal husbandry was also important. Forestry had recovered, and hydroelectric power was being used to run factories. This all had increased trading: “The peasant, who before visited a merchant once or twice a year, now makes purchases every week, or even more often.”² Finns were no longer satisfied with salt and iron, but needed more and more goods.

In the late nineteenth century, Finnish ships arriving from, for example Havana, brought specially ordered consignments of tinned pineapple (Korhonen 2013, 94–121). Food taste was changing with pineapples and other kinds of new flavors of the globalizing modern world (see also Sillanpää 1999, 26). However, during the nineteenth century, pineapples remained so expensive that only the upper classes of Europe could afford to eat them (Péhaut 1999, 467). In the early years of the twentieth century, pineapple was not yet used so often for cooking purposes in Finland (see, e.g., Reinilä, Calonius, and Krank [1908] 2008), but Finns had already been introduced to some food recipes with canned pineapple or pineapple juice—on October 31, 1908, for example, there was a recipe in *Jokamiehen ja joka naisen viikkolehti* for pineapple pudding. According to one Finnish magazine article, people of Northern Europe also wanted to eat “wonderfully tasty” pineapples. Pineapples were by now being cultivated in German greenhouses, and they were also being imported from the Azores to England in sand-filled flower pots. In Finland, pineapple was usually eaten in strips and mostly with sugar (*Kodin kuvasto* 1916, 43).

In the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, Finns had the opportunity to buy pineapple-flavored industrial products: pineapple soda, caramels, and jellies (see, e.g., *Finska apotekareföreningens tidskrift* 1912; *Otava* 1914). Soon after that, in the early years of the 1910s, a machine called the *ginaca* was invented. It made it possible to mass-produce canned pineapples, and as a result, many people learned to eat pineapples from the can and did not even want to buy fresh fruit anymore (Péhaut 1999, 468). The triumph in overcoming the problem of pineapple easily becoming spoiled in the northern parts of Europe shows how the summer and autumn harvests could be extended far

lyhyessä ajassa tapahtunut uudenaikaisempaan suuntaan” (“Kaupan merkitys ja tehtävä,” *Kauppalehti*, December 23, 1898, 1).

2 Original text: “Maanmies, jolla ennen oli kauppiaille asiaa kerran, pari vuodessa, on nykyään sen kanssa tekemisissä joka viikko, jos ei useamminkin” (“Kaupan merkitys ja tehtävä,” *Kauppalehti*, December 23, 1898, 1).

into the winter by canning (Bruegel 2002, 113–14). In 1916, one Finnish magazine wrote: “Even if the climatic conditions prevent us from getting the finest tropical fruits [. . .] completely fresh, we can, however, hope that European colonies send us canned fruit in the future in such a state that we can get a fairly good idea of their original quality.”³

Food and Finnish Identity

Nation-building began in Finland during the nineteenth century by the academic elite, artists, and other authorities, who took the task of creating identity symbols for the Finnish nation (Räsänen 1989, 14), at the time when the ideal of “one nation, one state” became prevalent throughout Europe. In this process authorities tried to define the food taste of the people who lived in the area of the Grand Duchy of Finland. The press had a significant role in this definition work, as the media has essentially supported the identification of the individuals with certain regions and worked effectively in the forming of national identities (Kosonen 2008, 22–23). In 1862, the newspaper *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* noted that “a powerful spirit of nationality has awakened in our people.”⁴ In 1876, newspapers wrote about 70-year-old J. V. Snellman (1806–81), “famous promoter of Finland’s independence, nationality, and patriotism,”⁵ as well as Yrjö Koskinen (1830–1903), whose recently published history schoolbook had been accused of excessive patriotism and its use in folk schools had been forbidden (*Satakunta* 1876).

In the 1880s, Finnish patriotism was highlighted in the newspapers even more so. The newspapers drew attention to the fact that Russia had started to fight against foreign products through stricter customs legislation. In addition, Russia considered abolishing Finland’s separate customs system during the 1880s. Finland had maintained its laws and its independent trading position throughout its time as a Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire. Now that

3 Original text: “Vaikkakin siis ilmastosuhteet estävät meitä saamasta hienoimpia trooppillisia hedelmiä [. . .] aivan tuoreina, voimme kuitenkin toivoa, että eurooppalaiset siirtomaat tulevaisuudessa lähettävät meille säilykehedelmiä sellaisessa tilassa, että voimme saada niiden alkuperäisestä laadusta jokseenkin oikean käsityksen” (S. H., “Trooppilliset hedelmät,” *Kodin kuvasto*, December 17, 1916, 614).

4 Original text: “[. . .] voimallinen kansallisuuden henki on herännyt kansassamme [. . .]” (“Vuoden aluksi,” *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, January 4, 1862, 1).

5 Original text: “J. W. Snellman, tuo Suomen itsenäisyyden, kansallisuuden ja isänmaallisuuden kuuluisa edistäjä” (*Hämäläinen*, May 11, 1876, 1).

Finnish industry was finally in a state of “full development” and the railroads had been successfully built, the Russian authorities had started to fight against the economic development of Finland.⁶ The newspaper *Hämeen Sanomat* stated in March 1886 that Finns should turn to patriotic enthusiasm in order to defend domestic work: they should establish patriotic associations, the members of which would begin to use for the most part domestic furniture, kitchen utensils, clothes, foods, and drugs. Other papers also emphasized the importance of the development of domestic products and industry for the future of Finland, especially if it wanted to achieve an independent financial position (*Wiipurin Sanomat* 1886). Finns were asked to favor Finnish work (*Laatokka* 1887; *Wiipurin Sanomat* 1887).

By the late nineteenth century, the Finnish gentry started increasingly basing its identity on nationalistic values instead of exotic foods, and this was also reflected in the newly found appreciation for domestic ingredients and foodstuffs. In October of 1895, the Finnish newspaper *Kaiku* described how a banquet dinner could be produced using only domestic raw materials. What is notable about the article, however, is that rice is also considered a domestic raw material: rice had at this point been part of the Finnish culinary tradition for such a long time that it was considered a domestic crop:

In the great hall of the vicarage, a vegetable exhibition had been arranged. [...] The menu was *rosolli* salad, green soup, fried fish, cabbage, and rice grain casserole; a bowl of vegetables; roast with greens; bean stew, swede casserole, seared fish, apple doughnuts. [...] When the dishes were ready, the audience was allowed to sample them, and it must be said that the good students were certainly able to meet all expectations with their home-made and locally-grown delicacies. This proved for the good that even here, in the far north, meals can well be prepared of domestic raw materials. No fare from foreign land was part of the meal; even the beverages were homemade raspberry, cranberry, and

6 Original text: “Taitawina, kestäwinä ja säästeliäinä owat suomalaiset rakentaneet rautateitä [...] heidän ahkeruutensa on tullut sananlaskuksi ja teollisuutensa on täydessä kehityksessä” (“Eräs lausunto Suomen ja Wenäjän tulliseikoista,” *Uusi Suometar*, July 30, 1884, 2).

rhubarb juices, which can perfectly well replace all mineral waters for the purposes of dining.⁷

Rice forms, as mentioned, a key ingredient of many kinds of Finnish pies, for example, Karelian pasties, which have been seen as a very typical Finnish food (Sallinen-Gimpl 1994, 263; Raento and Raento 2001, 24; Talve [1979] 2012, 146). Karelian culture was thought to contain the essence of Finnishness; this conception had its roots in a Karelianist movement that gained strength after the publication of Finnish national epic *Kalevala* in 1835 (Jokela and Linkola 2013, 269).

During the late nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century, more and more Finns began to have a better standard of living. Therefore, they could afford to buy more rice and other imported foodstuffs (see also Teuteberg and Flandrin 1999). At the same time, national awareness was increasing in Finland, which was why the popularity of the products imported from elsewhere was seen by some as troublesome. In 1914, an article in the newspaper *Pellervo* noted the following:

We Finns have some very tasty and healthy national dishes, which, shamefully, are falling into disuse and giving space to foreign foods, even though they should receive a place of honor on the dining tables of both rich and poor. So, we have, for example, previously used two types of talkkuna dishes. One of them fills the place of a hot food and the other one the place of a cold food. The former has been eaten mainly in Savonia, the latter in Tavastia [. . .].⁸

7 Original text: "Pappilan salissa järjestettiin kasvistien näyttely. [. . .] Ruokalista oli seuraava: rosollia, vihreää soppaa, paistettua kalaa, kaalia ja riisiryyni-laatikkoa ja wihannes wati, paistia salaatin kanssa, papumuhennusta, lanttu-laatikkoa, ruskotettua kalaa kokonaisena, omena-munkkia. [. . .] Ruokalajien valmistuttua sai yleisö ruweta niitä maistelemaankin, ja täytyy tunnustaa, että kelpo oppilaat saivat omawalmistamillaan ja kaswattamillaan herkuilla kaikki waatimukset tyydytyiksi, joka osottaa, että Pohjan perilläkin voidaan kotimaisia ruoka-aterioita ruweta walmistamaan. Mitään ulkomaista herkkua ei ollut ateriassa tarjolla, sillä juoma[n]akin käytettiin itse walmistamia waarain-, karpalo- ja rabarberimehuwesiä, jotka täydelleen korwaawat kaikkia kiwennäiswesiäkin tällaiseen tarkoitukseen" ("Wuositutkinto Haapaweden kaswitarha- ja keittokoulussa," *Kaiku*, October 4, 1895, 3).

8 Original text: "Meillä suomalaisilla on muutamia erinomaisen maukkaita ja terweellisiä kansallisuokia, jotka, häpeä kyllä, owat joutumaisillaan unhotuksiin kaiken ulkomaalaisen syötävän tieltä, waikka niiden pitäisi joutua kunniasisjalle sekä köyhän että rikkaan pöydälle. Niinpä esimerkiksi on meillä käytetty

Food-related articles in Finnish newspapers began to emphasize nationality towards the end of the nineteenth century. Different kinds of “national dishes” were mentioned in Finnish newspapers already at the beginning of the 1880s. At first, the articles discussed the national dishes of other countries: polenta was mentioned as an Italian national dish, and couscous as the preferred dish of Arabs. In 1889, one travel writer in particular referred to Finnish national dishes, claiming that Hungarian national dishes (such as goulash) were quite different from talkkuna and other kinds of Finnish delicacies (*Hämeen Sanomat* 1882; *Hämäläinen* 1889; *Uusi Suometar* 1894).

Many traditional Finnish dishes and their flavors had apparently been nearly forgotten by the late nineteenth century. New traditions, however, were needed to create the Finnish nation and a national identity, even though they did not necessarily feel very natural at the time. Traditions were being created at the same time in other European countries, too. Hobsbawm writes in the book *The Invention of Tradition* (1983, 263) about how so-called invented traditions were needed particularly in the period of nation-building, 1870–1914. It also was possible to create (with rituals and symbols sought from the past) cohesion and group identity for the Finns.

Guy (2001, 165) observes in the article “Wine, Champagne and the Making of French Identity in the Belle Epoque” that the symbolic power of wine was invoked as a part of the construction of “Frenchness” at the same time as mass consumer culture was emerging and a national consciousness was being created. Laws for *appellations d’origine* made regional wines a part of the French nation’s essential common legacy before the First World War. In this sense, many regional agricultural products were used to construct common national “memories.” Before that, many local cheeses in Europe had been, for example, food only eaten by peasants and herdsmen (Guy 2012, 195). At the same time, Finnish newspapers tried to give talkkuna an authentic national significance, even if it had very regional roots; on the basis of the newspaper data, talkkuna originated from the provinces of Savonia and Tavastia (see also Appadurai 1988, 15–21; Raento 2005, 50–55; Knuuttila 2006, 42).

A traditional Easter dish *mämmi* (made of rye malts and rye flour through a sweetening process) was also made a symbol of

ennen kahta lajia talkkunaruokaa, jotka sopiwasti täyttäwät toinen lämpimän, toinen kylmän ruuan sijan. Edellistä syödään etupäässä Sawossa, jälkimmäistä Hämeessä [. . .]” (“Talkkunat,” *Pellervo*, August 1, 1914, 609).

Finnishness during the early decades of the twentieth century, even though it had been originally known only in the southwestern region of Finland (Sillanpää 1999, 23–24). In the same period of nation-building, Koli and other “national” landscapes were successfully rooted in the Finnish minds. According to Salla Jokela and Hannu Linkola (2013, 264), they were also “considered to represent the entire country and its national character.”

Material symbols were particularly useful when creating a common national identity. People have to relate with food on a daily basis, and by studying the dishes of different countries, it was easy to outline the differences between nations and to determine one’s own position among the European nations. Food-related boundaries in nineteenth-century Europe also often coincided with political aims. Dutch chemist Gerrit Jan Mulder, for example, saw nutrition in geopolitical terms: he compared the weakness of potato-eating countries with the strength of meat-eating nations. A strong culinary heritage meant national strength, and superior national health compared to other nationalities (Finlay 1995, 56; Guy 2012, 193). Food was power. Finns were also very interested in finding out what the inhabitants of other countries thought of the special features of Finnish cuisine. The newspaper *Uusi Suometar* noted in October 1891 that according to a Russian schoolbook Finnish food was somewhat poor. Fresh rye bread was a delicacy for Finns, but because of a shortage of flour in Finland (because of years of bad harvests) bread had to be mixed with lichen or pine bark (see, e.g., Forsberg 2017). The favorite drink of the Finns was coffee.

Connections to New Foods

National memory has been explored in works such as the French *Lieux de Mémoire* (Realms of memory) series overseen by Pierre Nora (1998, 8). The series has focused on material and non-material national symbols upon which the French national memory and national identity have been built. The memory of the nation is understood as something that is deliberately constructed. National symbols are signs of collective identity that have developed together with culture. Finnish national symbols are, respectively, crystallizations of Finnish culture and identity.

Composer Fredrik (Friedrich) Pacius (1809–91), who came from Germany to Finland in the early nineteenth century, composed a song called *Maamme-laulu* (Song of our land), which became Finland’s national anthem. The text of the anthem was written by the Swedish-speaking author Johan Ludvig Runeberg

(1804–77), who is considered Finland’s national poet despite the fact that Finnish was not his mother tongue (Aho, Halonen, Aro, and Klinge 2005; Kolbe, Valjus, and Wrede 1998). We should also ask which elements of the national cuisine are authentically “ours.” Where have the foods that form our national cuisine and food culture really come from (Douglas [1973] 2003, 28)?

Finnish food identity is considered to incorporate items such as Emmental cheese, milk chocolate, and coffee, all of which are revealed by even a cursory examination to come from outside Finland. The raw materials needed for chocolate and coffee grow nowhere near northern Europe. In the nineteenth century, the milk required for cheese was produced domestically, but Emmental cheese did not originate in Finland. Emmental was first mentioned in a Finnish newspaper in 1832—not in connection with cheese but as the region of Emmenthal in Switzerland (*Åbo Tidningar* 1832). Ten years later, in 1842, a Helsinki-based newspaper ran a classified advertisement on *Ementhaler Schweizer* cheese, and another grocery supplier advertised Dutch herring, cheese spiced with caraway, and Edamer cheese (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 1842). Ten years later, N. E. Indrén advertised Dutch herring caught earlier in the year, Dutch Edamer cheese, and fresh lemons in a Finnish-language newspaper (*Hämäläinen* 1858). In February of 1876, the Swedish-language *Hufvudstadsbladet* ran an advertisement in which traders Jefremow and Elmgren offered for sale Dutch cream cheese, Edamer, Emmenthaler, and Roquefort blue cheese.

Some of the foodstuffs adopted by the Finns as their own date back to centuries from which very few written sources are available. Hence, the time of their introduction into the Finnish diet and into Finnish tastes remains unclear. From the nineteenth century onwards, research is much easier, as a great variety of sources are accessible. As demonstrated by the examples above, the arrival of new foods can be studied by analyzing newspaper advertisements. Newspapers are an excellent way to study the development of Finnish cheese culture because, in the late nineteenth century, magazines wrote frequently about the developing cheese industry.

Cheese had been matured using fire for a long time in Finland (Vilkuna 1943, 158–61). However, the commercial cheese varieties that became popular in Finland in the 1800s were mostly based on models adapted from abroad. The popularity of herring can be accounted for via links to the Netherlands, and the same appears to be true for some of the most popular cheese types: Edamer or Edam cheese from the city of Edam in northern Netherlands was

advertised in the first Finnish newspaper published in the town of Oulu, the *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia*, already in 1831.

Edam had probably found its way into Finland even before the nineteenth century. The Netherlands boosted its livestock breeding in the mid-1700s and started to export more cheese to other countries after that (Räsänen 1980, 19). At the time, Edam was a very popular cheese because it kept well and also traveled well (Harbutt 2009, 230). However, since no newspapers were published regularly in Finland before the nineteenth century, and few publications dating back to the eighteenth century contain any information on imported foods, little data are available of the Edam's importing to Finland. One source of information about the cargo of ships sailing to Finland from outside the Baltic Sea region is the Sound Toll Registers. The registers show that cheese was imported to Finland, but they provide no data about the cheese varieties that were imported. In 1828 a ship sailing from Amsterdam to the town of Oulu is recorded as carrying cheese and herring, while another ship sailing from Amsterdam to Oulu in 1834 carried raisins, Rhineland wines, and cheese, which presumably could have been Edam. Amsterdam features frequently as the port of origin of ships that carried cheese to the Baltic Sea region (see, e.g., *Ships to Finland: Ships to Uleaborg*. DNA).

Finland has traditionally been a cattle-rearing country, and butter was produced even for export. In the nineteenth century, Finnish agriculture shifted further toward the cattle industry, while simultaneously the development of the dairy sector encouraged Finns to develop new milk-based products. Finns also learned the art of making Swiss cheese, because by the late 1870s many Swiss emigrants proficient in cheese making had settled in Finland (Leitzinger 2008, 171–73). *Maamme kirja* (The book of our land), a school textbook published in 1875 by Zacharias Topelius, describes in great detail Finnish nature, people, and history, but it also mentions that German, Jewish, and Roma populations had settled in Finland and that some cities and factories were home to “a small number of skillful Englishmen” (177). In addition, Finland had French, Danish, Polish, and Swiss inhabitants at the time.

In *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Tim Edensor writes that “certain commodities are altogether more symbolic of national identity, and buying or using them might constitute a patriotic duty” (2002, 111). It is not a coincidence that European nations tried to protect their “own” products (e.g., the Madrid Conference on Trademarks was held in 1890–91) during

the same period that nations were constructing their national identities (Guy 2012, 193). Trademarks began to be protected in Finland during the early twentieth century, and some of them (including brands in the food sector) became important for Finns by the 1920s (Päivälehti 1902; Kokkola 1920). In the early 1900s, foods based on raw materials imported from elsewhere emphasized their “domestic origin” and Finnish brand. In 1902, Karl Fazer advertised its pure cocoa, which was “just as good, but cheaper, than foreign cocoa.”⁹ The newspaper *Kauppalehti* advertised in March 1916 a coffee called *Suomi* (Finland).

At the same time, many Finnish food companies were founded by foreigners. In May of 1892, the steamship *Rudolf* brought from Hamburg to Helsinki imported products for the following companies: for M. E. Fazer & Company, 1,200 heaps of sugar; for P. Sinebrychoff, 800 sacks of malt; and, for G. Paulig, 7,000 heaps of sugar (*Uusi Suometar* 1892). The roots of Paulig were in Germany. Gustav Paulig, who had moved from Lübeck to the Grand Duchy of Finland in the early 1870s, founded the company in 1876 (*Kauppalehti*, February 13, 1907). Paulig understood the importance of branding and advertising, and he started using a company logo from the very beginning. Coffee became one of its main products (*Kauppalehti*, September 11, 1907). Though beer had been consumed in Finland for centuries, Finnish national identity was not based on alcoholic beverages in the nineteenth century. Revivalist movements and the temperance movement emphasized absolute abstinence from alcohol and made sure that refreshing coffee conquered the Finnish palate very quickly (Sillanpää 1999, 32; Kylli 2015, 246). Coffee’s popularity even reached such a level that it was first mentioned as Finland’s national drink in the late nineteenth century (*Turun Lehti* 1896).

At least 520 Swiss families immigrated to Finland during the nineteenth century. The number of Swiss people living in Finland was only a fraction (2.5 percent) of all Swiss immigrants living in the Russian Empire, but even still the Swiss had a strong representation in the country in relation to Finland’s population. Of the Swiss population in Finland, 38 percent worked as cheesemakers, 34 percent as governesses, and 11 percent as confectioners. Many young Swiss persons came from large families and did not have the option of continuing their careers as farmers in the crowded valleys of their

9 Original text: “Puhdasta kaakaota, joka on yhtä hyvää vaan halvempaa kuin ulkomainen,” (“Koettakaa! Koettakaa! Karl Fazer’in Suklata, Suklaakonveheteja, Marmelaadeja” [advertisement], *Suomen Urheilulehti*, July 1, 1902, 368).

homelands. Moving into cities or abroad was therefore an inviting path to take. Before mass Swiss emigration to America started, Russia was an appealing country for enterprising emigrants with an education. The number of Swiss persons allowed into Russia was, however, controlled at times. In the 1840s and the 1850s, the number of Swiss governesses allowed to enter Russia was limited because they were suspected of disseminating revolutionary ideas. This made Finland, a Protestant Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, an attractive option. Although not all Swiss persons could find a job that matched their skills in Finland, virtually anyone from Switzerland could qualify as a cheesemaker (Leitzinger 2008, 167–73).

The art of cheese making spread rapidly in Finland. The first Swiss cheesemakers came from the canton of Glarus, and they were soon followed by Emmental masters from the canton of Bern. Captain Alex van Daehn established a cheese dairy at Sippola Manor in southeastern Finland in 1856 and hired a cheesemaker from Switzerland: the production of Emmental cheese started in Finland with the arrival of Rudolf Klossner (1824–1915). Klossner's dairy attracted other Swiss cheesemakers in the years to come (Leitzinger 2008, 177–80). At the same time, cheese making garnered attention in many parts of Finland. Many manor dairies hired Swiss cheesemakers to make Swiss-style cheese, while other dairies made cheddar or Edamer cheeses by relying on Finnish cheesemakers. The state also made an effort to support cheese making; a book called *Toimellinen ja Taitawa Juuston Tekiä* (The laborious and skillful cheesemaker) was published in Finland in 1857. In a study of the history of Finnish cheese making, published shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, we find: "So, cheese-making has developed constantly in our land. Emmenthaler cheese has become more and more popular over the years, although other varieties have been in fashion every now and then, such as agronomist K. J. Forsberg's Edamer cheese in the 1870s."¹⁰

The popularity of Edam cheese is easily explained by the maritime connections and trade links dating back hundreds of years. But explaining just how Emmental became part of the Finnish food palate is a more complicated matter. Switzerland was nowhere near the traditional maritime trade routes to northern Europe. Despite

10 Original text: "Niin on juustonwalmistus kehittänyt kehittymistään. Aina enemmän on valloittanut alaa emmenthalerjuuston walmistus, joskin wäliin muotiin on päässyt joku toinen juusto kuten esim. agr. K. J. Forsbergin ansiosta edamerjuusto 70 luwulla," ("Juustonwalmistuksen tulewaisuudesta Suomessa," *Uusi Aura* (N:o 212 B), September 14, 1910, 1).

this, Finnish entrepreneurs learned about Swiss cheese making during the nineteenth century. The dairy entrepreneur who hired Rudolf Klossner, for example, was known to have traveled through Switzerland, where he had become fond of Swiss cheese. Factors such as these cemented the popularity of Emmental cheese in Finland. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Finnish cheese tastes seemed relatively established (*Aamulehti* 1894). In 1920, a Finnish newspaper mentioned that Emmental cheese production seemed more popular than the production of Gouda, Edam, and cheddar cheeses, which were referred to as more secondary types of cheese (*Savonmaa* 1920).

The newspaper *Kauppaliehti*, founded in 1898, documented Finnish food tastes while promoting the Finnish economy (*Kauppaliehti*, December 23, 1898). It emphasized the importance of favoring Finnish products and advertised, for example, the biscuits of a company called Finnish-English Biscuit-Factory in Hanko. The Hanko biscuit company had been founded in 1910 as a domestic alternative to all the biscuits that had been imported to Finland during the past couple of years from England and from Russia (Hoving 1951, 53). In November 1909, *Kauppaliehti* wrote about trade connections between Finland and Russia. The writer was worried about the fact that the importing of edible products from Russia had increased in recent years. In his opinion, the statistics showed that it was high time to do away with foreign, in this case “Russian,” influence and try to get along independently. According to the writer, the Russian newspapers had lately published articles that even encouraged the conquering of Finnish trade. Although imports of Russian food products appeared to be dominant compared with Finnish exports, many Finnish dairy products were popular on the Russian side of the border. Exports of milk and cream to consumer centers such as Saint Petersburg had increased during the previous years, and the export of “Finnish ‘Swiss’ cheese” (*suomalainen “sveitsiläinen” juusto*) had been increasing up until the previous year.

The importance of chocolate in Finnish food culture can be traced back to the same Swiss heritage and links to Central Europe that brought Emmental cheese to Finland. In the 1810s, the first Swiss confectioners in Finland worked in the big cities along the southern coast. For instance, Eduard Peter Fatzer’s (1821–94) descendants became chocolate entrepreneurs in Finland during the early twentieth century (Leitzinger 2008, 167–76). Switzerland had been one of the top countries in terms of chocolate production.

Powdered milk, invented during the nineteenth century, made it possible to manufacture milk chocolate, and production started in Switzerland toward the end of the nineteenth century. Milk chocolate, which soon gained in popularity in Finland, required less of the expensive imported ingredient, cocoa, than dark chocolate. In milk chocolate, the amount of powdered milk and sugar is greater. "Swiss milk chocolate" began to be advertised in Finland around 1910. Even then, chocolate of Swiss origin was regarded as a guarantee of quality. Though no chocolate was advertised as "Finnish milk chocolate," A. B. Blomqvist & Company advertised its milk chocolate as "the best domestic" chocolate.¹¹

Conclusions

From the late nineteenth century onward, Finns began building a nation-state in the spirit of nationalism. National identity was partly built around food. Finland did not want to be part of Russia (or any other country) economically. The food industry was involved in the struggle over patriotism, and Finnish food products tried to compete with imported products. In the 1910s, some foods adopted in Finland from abroad began to be advertised under the heading of Finnishness. Emmental cheese was sometimes advertised as "Finnish 'Swiss' cheese." Food identities migrated across geographical regions, and the actual sources of popular food items often became lost in the minds of the people. The origin of the Swiss Emmental cheese was forgotten when the Finns started thinking of Emmental as the national cheese. In the nineteenth century, Finland was still a very agrarian society, and most Finns knew which crops grew in Finland, but this did not prevent rice from becoming associated with Finland and Finnishness.

The nineteenth century was a period when different kinds of inventions started breaking down the role of the environment as the principal factor that determined food tastes and habits. At the turn of the twentieth century, the standard of living improved to the extent that more and more people could afford to buy imported tropical products. At the same time, authorities (including the press) attempted to guide citizens' food choices: the Finnish educated gentry had a clear idea of what people should eat. Finns living in the

11 "Uutta! Karl Fazer'in Chocolat au lait," *Uusi Suometar*, September 24, 1902; A. B. Blomqvist & C:o OY:n maitosuklaa. Paras kotimainen. Täysin verrattava Sveitsiläiseen maitosuklaahan [advertisement], *Helsingin Sanomat*, September 26, 1909; Milka Suchard. Ensiluokan sveitsiläistä maitosuklaata. Neuchatel, Sveitsi [advertisement], *Helsingin Sanomat*, December 17, 1910.

modernizing world were advised to prefer Finnish products, that is, to buy domestic. Certain domestic brands with their “domestic” flavors became essential for Finns during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But the national food identity relied heavily on imported goods. Many traditional dishes eaten by Finns in earlier centuries had nearly been forgotten, and it was not easy to overcome the appeal of rice and other overseas products when promoting *talkkuna* and other kinds of “national” dishes, which practically had very regional roots. Contemporary Finns did not always share the nostalgic attitude that the authorities attempted to associate with the traditional “Finnish” foods in the period of nation-building (see also Snellman 2016, 165–66).

While it might be true that “there’s no arguing about taste,” it is still quite useful to know the extent to which taste has been controlled during the process of developing national diets, especially during the period of nation-building (e.g., Mennell 1985; Douglas [1973] 2003). On the other hand, food was a highly transnational phenomenon and all national food cultures include numerous loans. The breakthrough of nationalism in the collective consciousness did not succeed in excluding cross-border connections, but rather the reverse. Transnational connections have, from the very beginning, challenged the separation of nations and blurred their boundaries (Purhonen et al. 2014, 181; Sulkunen, Niemi, and Katajala-Peltomaa 2016, 13).

During the period of nation-building, Koli and other “national” landscapes became familiar to Finnish people. Landscapes are more static than foods, which are constantly changing. It was easier to root Koli Hill in the Finnish minds through postcards and picture books than the appreciation of *talkkuna* dishes, as people had to interact with food on a daily basis. In turn, a close relationship with food means that the nation’s “own” foods and food brands could effectively take the role of concrete material symbols, which were useful in the awakening of Finnish nationalism—and finally in gaining independence in 1917. Authorities could also represent certain foods as part of the common national heritage. Since food has an excellent capacity to mobilize strong emotions, it became a potent political tool during the latter half of the nineteenth century. As Guy writes, “cuisine was increasingly viewed as a distinctive expression of an ethnic group or a nation” (2012, 190). By the beginning of the period of independence, Finnish food preferences were already relatively well established. Already by this point in time, certain imported foods available in Finland had become part

of the national food identity: coffee was considered the national beverage, and rice and herring were viewed as quintessentially Finnish foods—despite the fact that none of these goods was produced in Finland.

In their book *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*, Bell and Valentine (1997) state that, “in a world in which self-identity and place-identity are woven through webs of consumption, what we eat (and where, and why) signals, as the aphorism says, who we are” (3). It would not be profitable to import an arbitrary selection of foods to Finland, as consumers would not be ready to buy goods that are not accepted culturally (Mäkelä 2003, 36; Douglas [1973] 2003, 30). One’s choice of food is not merely a product of individual choice: the supply and demand of different foods is also determined by generic, cultural patterns of thought shaped by history.

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A Twin Grip on “The National Disease”: Finnish Anti-Tuberculosis Associations and Their Contribution to Nation-Formation (1907–17)

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Abstract

Tuberculosis was a major killer in early twentieth-century Finland. It was also the target of the first genuinely national public health campaign. The first stage of this campaign was led by two non-governmental anti-tuberculosis associations, both founded in 1907. This article charts the founding and the early activities of these associations and argues that they made a significant contribution to nation-formation. This contribution was both ideological and practical. Through their activities, and through the rhetoric and imagery of “tuberculosis propaganda,” the associations heightened the sense of a nation threatened by and united against a common enemy. They took part in raising modern, medically observant citizens, and they introduced concrete health-care solutions that would survive well into independent Finland. Reflecting the political realities of the last decade of Russian rule in Finland, the anti-tuberculosis campaign was top-down but not state-driven.

Introduction

In early twentieth-century Finland, tuberculosis was defined as *kansansairaus*, that is, a “folk” or “national” disease. While this denomination is understandable in some respects, it may appear odd in others. True, tuberculosis was dreadfully common in early twentieth-century Finland. In 1900, pulmonary tuberculosis

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accounted for about 14 percent of general mortality, which made it the single most important specified cause of death. According to the statistical yearbook, the absolute number of the deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis in 1900 was 8,011 (*Suomenmaan Virallinen Tilasto* 1900, 65). The number of people ill with various forms of tuberculosis would have been many times that. On the other hand, there is little that can be regarded as specifically Finnish about the situation. Tuberculosis had plagued the human (as well as some animal) species for millenia, and its prevalence had been high in Europe since the eighteenth century. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, it was the single most important specified cause of death in all industrialized countries. Intensive campaigns against the disease were launched all around the western world. In these campaigns, many of the same symbols were seen, many of the same arguments heard, and many of the same counter-measures taken. Their tone was often highly nationalistic: arguments were couched in nationalistic and militaristic terms, and comparative statistics were used to evoke national shame and pride and to stir people into action. The preference for the national is also reflected in the historiography of tuberculosis. As Bryder, Condrau, and Worboys (2010, 7) have noted, national case studies have been a particularly popular genre in tuberculosis history.

This article falls into two parts: the first part focuses on the two Finnish national anti-tuberculosis associations. I will look into their emergence, activities, and social outlook during their first ten years of existence, with an emphasis on differences and similarities. Many contemporaries considered it as a misfortune that a small country like Finland should have two national anti-tuberculosis organizations, instead of just one, but from a scholarly point of view, it is helpful to be able to make comparisons and thereby perhaps detect tensions and preoccupations characteristic of the time and the place. Second, I will ask what the associations accomplished during their first ten years of existence, and, more specifically, how they contributed to *nation-formation*.

The term nation-formation refers to the broad and often entangled processes through which a nation—as distinct from the state and ethnic community—comes into being. Many authors have regarded the formation and diffusion of national consciousness as the distinctive element in nation-formation, but few would deny that the process also has its more objective and concrete aspects, such as particular kinds of social relationships or techniques of mass communications capable of linking people with no

face-to-face contact to one another (Hroch 2000, 12; James 1996, 195; James and Phillips 2005, 192–93). Modern social institutions such as a conscripted army, compulsory primary education, and, less obviously, the public health system, enable integration across class, gender, ethnic, and linguistic borders (without necessarily eradicating them). Miroslav Hroch has famously distinguished three phases in the formation of small European countries: during the first phase, “the period of scholarly interest,” small groups of patriotic intellectuals rediscovered cultural legacies and reactivated sometimes forgotten “national” languages. The second phase, “the period of patriotic agitation,” was characterized by broader popular mobilization, and the third phase by the formation of nationalist mass organizations seeking political power. The period we will be looking into falls somewhere toward the end of Hroch’s second phase, the phase during which a growing number of people “began to consider their membership in the nation as more than a simple natural fact or a political consequence of subjection to a particular monarch” (Hroch 2000, 23).

Popular movements and secular schooling are probably the most intensively studied aspects of nation-formation, but there are also studies that address the role of public health in the process, often with reference to theories of modernization, to Foucault’s notion of “biopower,” or to Nikolas Rose’s conceptualization of “governmentality.” In the Nordic countries, the Bergen historians Ida Blom (1998), Aina Schiøtz (2012), and Teemu Ryymin (2009) have drawn attention to the integrative functions of the Norwegian anti-tuberculosis campaign. Blom and Schiøtz have stressed the role of voluntary associations in the hygienic re-education of the common folk, and Ryymin has also shed light on the issue of ethnicity in the multi-ethnic province of Finnmark. In Finland, Jauho (2007), Kuusi (2003), and Harjula (2007, 2015, 2016) have explored the emergence of health as a public issue at the beginning of the twentieth century and the development of “health citizenship” (citizens’ health-related obligations and rights). While Jauho and Kuusi focus specifically on tuberculosis, Harjula discusses tuberculosis as one part of a more comprehensive public health framework.² They have been primarily interested in public policies and popular education, and used published materials such as official documents

2 On the concept of “health citizenship,” see Helén and Jauho 2003, 14–15; on the related concept of “social contract for health,” see Harjula 2007, 13–14, 17.

and educational texts.³ I complement their work by highlighting the role of the two non-government organizations (NGOs) and base my inquiry largely on unpublished archive material.⁴ The purpose of my article is to draw attention to the role of NGOs in general and the anti-tuberculosis associations in particular in the pre-independence process of nation-formation.

The Tale of Two Associations

The decade around the turn of the century saw the launching of high-profile public campaigns against tuberculosis in practically all industrialized countries. These campaigns included, in different proportions, the following: health education; construction of sanatoria, dispensaries, preventoria, and summer colonies; legislation; case-registration; and public health research. The efforts of state and municipal authorities were complemented and sometimes outdone by non-governmental anti-tuberculosis associations. The French founded such a national association in 1891 and the Germans in 1895. The British National Campaign for the Prevention of Consumption (NAPC) was launched in 1898, the Canadian Lung Association in 1900, and the US National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis (NASPT) in 1904. The Swedish *Nationalföreningen mot tuberkulos* was founded in 1904. Doctors typically played a key role in the founding and running of anti-tuberculosis organizations. The elites—administrative and business

3 The study of public health policies is the most well-developed strand of Finnish tuberculosis history. Other aspects, such as disease experience or basic medical research, have received more scattered attention. The experience of sanatorium patients is investigated in Nenola (1986) and in Hakosalo (2016). Hakosalo (2015) focuses on the institutional isolation of infants, a prominent and relatively original feature in Finnish tuberculosis control. Lähteenmäki (2000) demonstrates the devastating economic and social effects of tuberculosis on the level of one family. The only English account on Finnish tuberculosis history available so far is Härö (1998), a rather celebratory sum-up of the achievement of tuberculosis control efforts, notably those by Finnish Anti-Tuberculosis Association. Harjula's 2016 paper, "Citizenship and Access to Health Services," does not specifically focus on tuberculosis but offers a highly useful overview of the development of Finnish public health provision from the point of view of equality, availability, and accessibility.

4 Until lately, the archives of the two national societies were retained by the Finnish Lung Health Association (Filha), the successor of the Finnish Anti-Tuberculosis Association. The bulk of the material has now been transferred to the Finnish National Archives. When I researched them, they were still in the possession of Filha. The material was not cataloged or ordered, and I am therefore unable to provide exact archive references to specific units. Unless otherwise indicated, the unpublished material derives from these archives.

elite, nobility, and the royal house—conspicuously patronized these projects, while the middle class was urged to donate generously and the common people were perceived as the primary target of health education and interventions. National anti-tuberculosis associations kept a close eye on one another. They employed the same and similar symbols and slogans, exchanged ideas and practices, and created a joint organ, the International Union against Tuberculosis, in 1920.⁵ Finnish anti-tuberculosis activists were well aware of developments in Germany and France, in Norway and Denmark, but their most important point of reference was Sweden. Collaboration with Russian organizations, in contrast, was kept to a bare minimum. In this, as in many other respects, the Finnish educated elite looked toward and sought to strengthen its ties to Central and Western Europe.

The Finnish anti-tuberculosis associations were founded in 1907, at a critical moment in the country's political and social history. Despite increasing Russian repression, the preceding decades had witnessed the burgeoning of associations and popular movements, including the temperance movement, the youth society movement, the cooperative movement, and the labor movement. The tumultuous years 1905–7 saw the game-changing General Strike (1905), a radical parliamentary reform, which led to the birth of a modern unicameral parliament and the introduction of universal suffrage (1906), and the first parliamentary elections (1907). Civic liberties—including the liberty of assembly—were extended, and Russian assaults on Finnish autonomy came to a halt (temporarily, as it soon turned out). The period was marked by a spirit of civic optimism: while the state apparatus may have been inert and in danger of falling ever more tightly into foreign hands, there seemed to be no limits to what civil society—embodied above all by various popular movements and voluntary associations—could accomplish.

As Harjula (2015, 25, 35) has pointed out, health was among the social issues that broke into public discussion with new force between 1905 and 1907. One indication of this was the founding of *Suomen Kansallinen Terveysliitto* (Finnish National Health Union) in 1906. A handful of reform-minded Finnish-nationalist physicians tried to construct a popular mass organization focused on the improvement of health. It was conceived much like the temperance movement: encouraged and steered by a Helsinki-based

5 On the birth of national anti-tuberculosis associations, see Blomqvist 1986, 137; Worboys 1992, 55; Bynum 2012, 132; Hakosalo 2017, 317; Sanitize and Shengalia 2015.

central organization, run by a handful of middle-class physicians, a network of local health societies would be launched by enlightened individuals all over the country. Guided by medical experts, people would learn to mind and manage their health and thereby improve the health and efficiency of the nation as a whole. This initiative, as interesting as it is historically, was not a success (Harjula 2015, 47, 50–53). The two antituberculosis associations, which have many points in common with the Health Union, proved more long-lived and far more influential.

Both associations came into being during the first half of 1907. *Keräystoimikunta Vähävaraisten Keuhkotautisten Avustamiseksi* (The Collection Commission for the Benefit of Impecunious Consumptives [CC]) emerged from a charitable collection. In February 1907, the well-known publisher Werner Söderström (1860–1914) placed an open letter in Helsinki newspapers, both Finnish and Swedish, urging people to “commemorate” the upcoming parliamentary elections by organizing a major nationwide charitable collection for the establishment of folk sanatoria for tuberculosics without means (Söderström 1907). Söderström’s plea first seemed to fall on barren ground, but then a small group of people, led by Augusta af Heurlin (1847–1918), arranged a public meeting to discuss the matter. Af Heurlin was a well-known and well-connected lady, active in the Finnish nationalist cause, the women’s movement, and many charitable projects (Sainio 2001; Jämbeck 2008, 30–35; “Koulukeittöyhdistyksen vuosikokous” 1907, 4).

The meeting took place on February 18, 1907. It appointed a commission, consisting of nine men and one woman, whose main task was to add weight and respectability to the venture by lending their names to the collection; few of them did more than that. The leading Swedish-speaking newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* reported, in a distinctly ironic tone, that the “civic meeting” had been attended by a mere handful of people; that no one, including Söderström himself, had prepared any concrete proposal for the meeting to discuss; and that the majority of the people appointed to sign the petition to Senate⁶ had not been present at all (“Folksanatorier för lungsiktiga” 1907, 2). Thanks to the helping hand extended by the main temperance association *Raittiuden Ystävät* (Friends of Temperance), the collection was nevertheless carried out with some success during the election days (March 15–16). It brought in about 30,000 marks, and an additional 25,000 marks were raised on the

⁶ The Senate was the highest domestic authority, roughly equivalent to the present-day government.

first of May (CC minutes Feb. 17, 24, 26, March 5, 1907). In June, another civic meeting sanctioned the transformation of the temporary commission into a permanent one and authorized it to manage the donations and to organize further fund-raising operations (CC minutes June 9, 1907; “Taistelu keuhkotautia vastaan” 1907, 4).

Although the election day collection was framed as a national show of strength and unity, Söderström and the people who responded to his plea may well have been inspired by a Swedish example. In 1897, a nationwide collection had been arranged to celebrate King Oscar II’s twenty-five years on the throne. The King donated the yields, about 2.2 million crowns, to the treatment of tuberculosis. A foundation, known as *Jubileumsfond*, was established for the purpose and opened its first folk sanatoria in Hålahult and Österåsen in, respectively, 1900 and 1901 (Puranen 1984, 316). The scale of the Finnish and Swedish operations was different, but the basic idea was similar, namely to make use of a symbolically loaded national event to draw attention to and gain financial support for anti-tuberculosis work.

While the formation of CC seems like a rather ad hoc affair, the founding of *Tuberkulosin Vastustamisyhdistys* (Anti-Tuberculosis Association [ATA]) had been planned in medical circles for some time. The internist Richard Sievers (1851–1932) had called for the founding of a national anti-tuberculosis organization at the general meeting of the Finnish Medical Society in 1905. The assembly supported his motion, but Sievers and others took action only in spring 1907, perhaps provoked to do so by the founding of CC. On May 28, a public inaugural meeting was arranged in the lecture hall of the chemistry department. The meeting was carefully staged and planned. The invitation was signed by twelve well-known citizens, nine of whom were medical professionals. It was published in several Helsinki newspapers, including the socialist *Työmies*, where it was specifically emphasized that the invitation applied to “citizens from all social classes and parties” (“Keuhkotautia vastustamaan” 1907, 2). Sievers, who was now the Director of the National Board of Health, opened the meeting. Referring to encouraging foreign examples, he motioned for the founding of an anti-tuberculosis association. The meeting sanctioned the founding of the association, accepted the proposed name and regulations, and appointed the board (“Yhdistys tuberkulosin vastustamiseksi” 1907, 4).

The structure of the two organizations was different. CC had only sixteen members. The eight members of the “medical section” were chosen and appointed by the Finnish Medical Society

Duodecim, and the eight members of the "lay" or "practical" section by the Friends of Temperance. The new association was thus superimposed, as it were, on two existing organizations. In addition, the Collection Commission had a strong personal overlap with the Finnish National Health Union, for Professor Taavetti Laitinen (1866–1941) was the chairman of the former from 1907 to 1917 and the chairman of the latter from 1906 to 1912 (Hietala 2008). Several other commissioners were also in one way or another involved in the work of the Health Union.

It is difficult to say which association had a broader popular basis. ATA had an inclusive membership and was "parliamentary" in the sense that its board was chosen by and accountable to the general meeting. In practice, however, ATA general meetings never handled anything but routine matters, and power lay firmly in the hands of a small group of physician-administrators and, between 1925 and 1962, in the hands of the Secretary General, who ran the organization much like a high-powered CEO would a company. The commission, with its sixteen members, may seem exclusive, but, on the other hand, it was tacked on the Friends of Temperance, which was a broad, genuinely popular organization (Sulkunen 1986, 220, 270). The commission had its founding sanctioned by two "civic meetings" (attended by thirty-five and twelve people respectively), and it would also argue that people—especially the common people—had shown their support by donating generously (CC minutes Feb. 17, 1907; June 9, 1907; May 8, 1910). CC can be regarded as a late example of a Fennoman mediator organization: the middle-class commissioners who constituted the organization regarded themselves as proper mediators between the common people and the administration. As the leadership saw it, they represented and served the people by virtue of a shared language and national consciousness, even in the absence of concrete mechanisms of representation.⁷

During its first years of existence, CC was run rather like a small private charity. It had Senate permission for organizing collections and lotteries, but it was not a registered association. A small core group of active members ran the operation, and much depended on personal relations and (often oral) agreements. Minutes were kept, but there was no annual reporting, nor much by the way of budgeting. In 1910, however, the Parliament decided on an annual grant of 200,000 marks to both associations for the next five years (the grant

7 On Fennomanian ideology and organizational principles, see Engman 1995, 186; Suodenjoki 2012, 56–57; Stenius 1987, 379–80.

was paid out only in 1913 and 1917). Public funding required more accountability. Between 1910 and 1913, the commission started to pay a fee to its secretary, rented a permanent office, and appointed a “consultant member” (a physician who worked part-time for the association). Written regulations were prepared and confirmed by the Senate, and a printed report and an expense estimate began to appear annually (CC minutes April 10, 1910, § 12; May 8, 1910; May 29, 1910, § 5; October 4, 1910, § 5; March 5, 1911, § 3). In 1921, the commission would become a registered association, with somewhat modified rules, and change its name into the no-less cumbersome “Relief Association for Impecunious Consumptives.”

ATA, on the other hand, was a registered association from the start. The membership was open to anyone who paid the minimum annual fee of one mark (Minutes of ATA general meeting, May 18, 1907, § 2). In 1913, for instance, the number of members was 9,500 (Ruotsalainen 1913, 49). There were several local branches, some of which were active and wealthy, while others existed only on paper. Any member could attend the general meeting, at which was presented the annual report and the accounts and the board elected. The board had ten ordinary members, including a president, vice-president, and treasurer. The first board consisted of nine prominent male medical professionals and one laywoman.

The two associations had a somewhat different social and gender profile. ATA was more securely in the hands of the medical elite, which, at the time, was exclusively male and predominantly “Swedish.”⁸ The two medical societies and the central medical administration were better represented in the ATA leadership. Politically, the ATA leadership leaned towards Constitutionalists, while many of the commissioners were well-known Old Finns. While the CC figureheads (chairmen and secretaries) were self-evidently male physicians, the ladies of the lay section, headed by af Heurlin, formed its most active and perhaps also most influential grouping. Although neither association was nominally “Finnish” or “Swedish,” the line they took on the language issue was clearly different. ATA carefully adhered to the principle of

8 Calling these people “Swedish-speaking” would be uninformative, for all academically educated people spoke Swedish at the time. The “Swedes” not only spoke Swedish as their first language but also regarded themselves as ethnically Swedish, or at least ethnically different from Finns. Contemporaries, well aware that the divide went deeper than mere language, used the words “Swedes” and “Finns” rather than “Finnish-speaking” and “Swedish-speaking.” The term “Finland Swede” (*suomenruotsalainen*) was introduced only later.

linguistic symmetry. When the two associations agreed upon a geographic division of work in 1913, they did not need to flip a coin. It was obvious that CC would concentrate on the eastern, Finnish-speaking part of the country, and ATA would respond for the western part, where the Swedish-speaking communities were located (Härö 1992, 22; CC minutes, May 3, 1913, § 9).

The original remit of CC was to "help impecunious consumptives acquire sanatorium treatment," while the ATA pledged, more broadly, "to oppose tuberculosis in our country by all available means" (the minutes of the ATA general meeting, May 28, 1907, § 4; CC minutes, Feb. 17, 1907, § 1; June 9, 1907, § 4). The list of their activities would in fact look broadly similar. CC raised funds through public collections, lotteries, and charity events. Both spread information about tuberculosis by means of posters, leaflets, and booklets, and both enlisted ambulatory lecturers to tour the countryside. Both organized courses for teachers, nurses, and deaconesses, and gave grants to nurses who wanted to gain some practical experience in a sanatorium. ATA also awarded grants to physicians for the same purpose. When the government needed an expert opinion, or an international organization sought a Finnish contact, they were more likely to turn to ATA. Both associations founded, supported, or ran a variety of institutions: dispensaries, sanatoria, preventoria,⁹ and children's summer colonies. These activities intensified in the 1920s, when the state started to fund the associations regularly and increasingly generously. A popular health magazine, *Tuberkuloosilehti* (Tuberculosis journal), came into being in 1928 and would be their most significant joint effort before they merged in 1930 and became the Finnish Anti-Tuberculosis Association (FATA).

However, a closer look at the activities of the two associations reveals distinct differences of emphasis. CC did concentrate on making sanatorium treatment better available to the poor. The sanatorium provision was indeed meager in 1907, and it was almost completely outside the reach of the poor. As one reporter indignantly commented in 1907: "it is easier for a poor man to become a member of the French Academy of Sciences than to gain entrance to a sanatorium for consumptives" (Lehteri-Jussi 1907, 4). The commission was clear about its primary goal but not sure how

⁹ Preventoria were institutions meant for children who were deemed to be at high risk of falling ill with tuberculosis, either because they had family members with open (contagious) tuberculosis or because their "weak constitution" predisposed them to tuberculosis.

best to reach it. It ruled out direct financial assistance to individual tuberculosics, and it was reluctant to “buy” free beds in existing sanatoria either. It considered the establishment of its own sanatoria beyond its means, not only because sanatoria were costly to build and run, but also because the commission feared that a small group of Helsinki-based volunteers would not be able to effectively supervise and monitor remote sanatoria. They decided to encourage local actors to establish modest care facilities (*hoitola*) using financial support (loans and grants) and expert advice as incentives. The future would belong to large folk sanatoria, but, at the time, CC was not alone in putting its faith in small care facilities. They were common, for instance, in Russia, Sweden, and Norway (Buhre 1909, 13–14; Neander 1928, 103; Blomqvist 1986, 136; Schiøtz 2012, 102–4).

The path chosen by the commission proved to be fraught with difficulties. There was trouble with some local medical officers, who resented the sanatoria and refused to visit them (without proper compensation) and with the untrained staff unable to maintain discipline or to meet even basic standard of care, and there was confusion about the proprietary rights. As a result, one small local sanatorium after another fell into the hands of the reluctant commission, which had no choice but to accept more direct responsibility for them. In 1913, the commission also started to accept applications from individual tuberculosics who wanted to gain free treatment in CC-supported sanatoria. This came as a relief to those commissioners who had been worried that they were not doing enough to directly assist the people they had been commissioned to assist, that is, “the impecunious consumptives” (CC minutes Feb. 7, 1908, § 3; Mar. 11, 1908, § 9; Oct. 25, 1910, § 2; May 16, 1911, § 2; Jan. 31, 1909, § 1; Dec. 7, 1909, § 6; Oct. 25, 1910, § 2; Oct. 5, 1911, § 1; Sept. 17, 1921, § 6; May 3, 1913, § 3; June 16, 1913, § 4; June 15, 1910, § 5; Dec. 7, 1910, § 8; April 5, 1913, § 7; Ruotsalainen 1923, 144).

Another CC priority was paediatric work. It invested in paediatric work from the beginning, whereas ATA started to do so only in the 1930s. Many CC collections were for the benefit of children, and it subsidized several paediatric institutions (Suomussalmi sanatorium, Orpola preventorium, Pitäjänmäki preventorium, and many summer colonies). It also opened the Lohja school sanatorium in 1913 and the Salpausselkä paediatric sanatorium, its most important single operation, in 1925 (CC minutes Nov. 25, 1910, § 5; Oct. 4, 1910, § 6; Ruotsalainen 1923, 133–34). It made

medical sense to focus on children, but since ATA was just as well acquainted with the medical arguments, we may assume that other factors were also at play. Sakari Härö surmises that CC's interest in children was the result of the influence of the secretary, Armas Ruotsalainen (1877–1958), who was a paediatrician (Härö 1992, 57). I find it more likely that the paediatric emphasis resulted from the strong presence of women in the lay division. Many of them were veterans of charity work, and women's charities had traditionally focused on women and children.

One CC initiative is indicative in this respect. In 1911, the commission opened a bath house for children in the working-class district of Kallio in Helsinki. The idea was put forward and pushed through by af Heurlin, and the institution was overseen by another long-term female commissioner, Alma Jalava (1855–1922). The purpose of the institution, the commission explained to the municipal authorities, was twofold: it provided "ordinary baths," which made poor children more resistant to disease by helping them to keep clean, and "medicinal baths" (salt, barley, etc.) with more direct influence on their health. The threat of infection was eliminated by cleaning the children before they were put to bath and by regularly disinfecting the facilities (CC minutes Mar. 5, 1911, § 15; Apr. 9, 1911, § 3; May 4, 1911, § 1; May 9, 1911, § 1; Sept. 6, 1911, § 6; Dec. 3, 1911, § 11 and appendix; a letter from CC to Helsinki City Council, Nov. 21, 1911; Ruotsalainen 1923, 134, 142). Some of the (medical) commissioners were unenthusiastic about the initiative. It is easy to see why: although the medicinal baths were given "on doctor's orders," there was nothing specifically medical about this institution. State-of-the-art tuberculosis medicine no longer had any place for balneotherapy, while it put great stress on the danger of infection, especially in the case of children. But the bath house was well in line with the philanthropic tradition: it was a local charitable institution located at the heart of a working-class area, and it sought to meet the basic needs of underprivileged children. There seems to have existed a local demand for the institution, too, for it functioned (with some interruptions) until 1921 (Ruotsalainen 1923, 142).

ATA, too, supported some sanatoria and preventoria, but it prioritized another institution: the tuberculosis dispensary. A dispensary was an outpatient unit that combined medical with social tasks. In early twentieth-century Europe, the TB dispensary was regarded as a characteristically French institution (e.g., Buhre 1904, 11). The first Finnish dispensary was founded in 1904 at

the Helsinki City Hospital (Maria Hospital). It initially employed one part-time physician and a nurse, and it dispensed advice, medications, thermometers, sputum containers, clean bedclothes, food, and sometimes even money. The nurse made home calls and assisted the physician, who diagnosed, prescribed drugs, and referred patients to institutional treatment. The dispensary also oversaw two tenement houses designed for tuberculous families. Headed by Ina Rosqvist, M.D. (1865–1942), the Helsinki City Dispensary grew from a modest makeshift facility into a significant primary health care unit (Åberg 1926). By 1917, ten Finnish towns had opened tuberculosis dispensaries, modeled more or less closely on the Helsinki City Dispensary.

However, the majority of Finns still lived in the countryside, and many rural areas were even more tuberculous than urban areas. The typical rural municipality was small (in terms of population), poor, and reluctant to invest in health care. In 1905, roughly half of the rural municipalities had not secured the services of a GP (Harjula 2015, 68). Starting from the premise that it was not realistic to expect rural municipalities to establish dispensaries, ATA took it upon itself to introduce “the dispensary ideal” to provincial Finland. Its first two dispensaries were opened in 1909 in Kruunupyy and Iisalmi (ATA Board minutes Mar. 14, 1909, § 5; Apr. 11, 1913, § 14). However, it was the Teuva dispensary, opened in 1913 in the province of Ostrobothnia, that would become the model institution. Here, the physician was a full-time tuberculosis physician, employed by ATA, and the tuberculosis district covered several municipalities. His right to engage in private practice was severely restricted, but, apart from a monthly salary, he received free housing, and a generous cost benefit. The Finnish model would thus differ from the Swedish, where the provincial medical officer usually took care of rural dispensaries in his precinct on a part-time basis. In the former, it was more expensive to establish dispensaries, and the dispensary network grew only slowly. On the other hand, the physician could put more effort into tuberculosis control. The model also increased the importance of ATA/FATA by making it an important employer for medical practitioners.

The signature operation of the ATA rural dispensaries was the mass examination (*joukkotarkastus*). Constantin Tennberg (1870–1921) conducted the first mass examination in Kruunupyy in 1909. He visited all the households in the area and examined suspected cases thoroughly. Tennberg found an extremely high prevalence of pulmonary tuberculosis in adults, and especially cervical

lymphadenitis in children, which, of course, underlined the need for anti-tuberculosis measures.¹⁰ The examination was renewed ten years later, with the purpose of assessing the influence of the work done by the dispensary (Tennberg 1919). Severi Savonen (1886–1964), the physician of the Teuva dispensary, modified the procedure somewhat. He did not visit all households personally but delegated this task to the dispensary nurses. The nurses were also responsible for trying to make the homes more sanitary. They identified suspected cases and referred them to the physician, who examined them first clinically or bacteriologically, and later with the help of an x-ray. The uptake was high, and few people seem to have actively resisted the home interventions. The practice would also enjoy modest international renown: in the other Nordic countries in the 1920s, the “modified mass examination” was considered a Finnish innovation (Härö 1992, 43).

Sanitizing the Nation

What did the two associations accomplish during their first ten years of existence, and what did they carry over from the Grand Duchy to independent Finland? The inventory of their concrete achievements includes a number of small sanatoria, some preventoria and dispensaries, a convalescent home, and a bath house. It also contains a series of publications, mostly popular health education but also some epidemiological studies. By the end of 1917, ATA had published twenty-one booklets and CC ten. Both had some nurses, and ATA also had two physicians on their payroll. As the Finnish anti-tuberculosis activists readily admitted, these achievements were modest when compared to more affluent and independent countries. While it is unlikely that the associations’ activities made any difference on tuberculosis morbidity or mortality during this period, they did partake in nation-formation on several levels. They contributed to the formation of national identity on the ideological and rhetorical level; they influenced people’s daily life and customs; and they had an impact on the formation of the health-care system.

The nation and *the people* were self-evident points of reference in anti-tuberculosis propaganda. The anti-tuberculosis material, and especially the material addressed to the general public, was replete with expressions derived from the word *kansa* ‘the people’: *kansallinen*, *kansalainen*, *kansakunta*, as well as compound words starting *kansallis-*. To name but a few examples, the founding of CC

10 Härö thinks that Tennberg’s figures on cervical lymphadenitis are simply too high to be accurate (Härö 1992, 36, 38).

was legitimated by two *kansalliskokous* ‘national/civic meetings’, its first fund-raising operation was called *kansalliskeräys* ‘national/civic collection’, and its initial goal was a *kansanparantola* ‘folk sanatorium’ (CC minutes, Feb. 17, 1907). Söderström’s call for action presented the ur-collection as an act of national unity at a time of heightening political tensions (Söderström 1907). In the richly metaphorical language of the anti-tuberculosis propaganda, military expressions mingled with organic, agricultural, and religious metaphors. Tuberculosis was compared to a rot that “gnaws at the vital root of our people” (an application to the Senate, appended to CC minutes, Feb. 26, 1907, § 2). Every man was called to take his place in the line of battle, “ready for a resolute battle against this dreadful enemy” (Dr. Tord Dreijer’s speech at the communal meeting in Virrat, June 13, 1910, appended to the minutes of the ATA board, Feb. 27, 1910). The ambulatory workers sought to “wake the people to self-consciousness” (annual report appended to CC minutes from May 8, 1910).¹¹ Visual representations further enforced the image of a distinct, territorial nation, training the audience to think about health in terms of the nation. In the epidemiological maps that depicted the tuberculosis situation in different parts of the country, the eastern border was drawn just as solid as the western border. The two anti-tuberculosis associations thus contributed to nation-formation by means of words and images, by evoking and strengthening the image of a nation and a people, distinct from other nations and peoples.

Such an evocation of the people and the nation is a rather self-evident component of nation-formation and was hardly specific to the rhetoric of the anti-tuberculosis campaign. *Kansa* and *kansakunta* figured centrally in the language of all the popular movements, and, as Sami Suodenjoki has noted, they were also ingrained in the rhetoric of political parties at the time (Suodenjoki 2012, 54). But the anti-tuberculosis campaign did introduce a new and more somber note to the rhetoric of the nation. It reminded “the people” that it shared not only the language (or languages), great men, and great works of art, but also population-level problems. Administrators and medical officers may have been thinking along these lines since the emergence of *medizinische Polizei* in the eighteenth century, but the anti-tuberculosis campaign was instrumental in generalizing and democratizing this way of thinking. Discourse on tuberculosis also made it clear that a disease could

11 The word *itsetajunta* here refers to self-consciousness in the Hegelian sense rather than “feeling self-conscious” in the everyday sense.

threaten the nation not only from outside, like cholera had done during the first years of the century, but also from inside, in the form of an endemic disease. The threat posed by tuberculosis differed from the threat of cholera and called for different countermeasures. Stemming this threat was not only an affair for the administration and the medical profession, as the successful stopping of the spread of cholera at the eastern border had been, but an affair for the people as a whole. A series of inspection stations along the border would not bring success this time; countermeasures would need to permeate the fabric of daily life.

As Paul James, the foremost theorist of nation-formation, has characterized, nation-formation is a process of abstraction that occurs "both in thought and practice" (James 1996, 184). The anti-tuberculosis associations contributed to nation-formation not only on rhetorical and ideological levels but also targeted people's daily behavior, seeking to restructure it in very concrete ways. Their most important way of doing so was popular health education by means of printed and spoken word. Popular health education constituted a crucial part of the early anti-tuberculosis campaign for several reasons. First, the resources of the associations were still small, and education was a relatively cheap way to draw attention to the tuberculosis issue and to make an impact. Second, the role of popular education gained weight because medicine did not yet have any reliable means of tackling the disease. There was no effective treatment or prophylaxis, and even diagnostic methods were quite unreliable. Third, there was little hope of improving things through legislation. There were both ideological and practical (political) obstacles in the way of tuberculosis legislation: in principle, middle-class reformers did not think it possible (or desirable) to curtail individual and family rights in the name of public health (Palmberg et al. 1900, 53–54; Koskimies 1910, 3), and, in practice, legislative work was paralyzed because of czarist policies. Fourth, the leaders of the anti-tuberculosis campaign were middle- and upper-class men and women with socially conservative views. By and large, they preferred individual to social (structural) solutions. The anti-tuberculosis education thus stressed individual responsibility.

The instructions instilled by popular tuberculosis education were concrete and detailed, reaching all the way down to the minutiae of daily life. One set of instructions concerned the cleanliness and salubrity of the immediate, mainly domestic, environment. Spitting, which was still a common (male) habit, was condemned as foul and dangerous. Women were given instructions on how to

best clean and ventilate their houses. Children should not be over-dressed, babies should not be cuddled and kissed, especially not by strangers. Another set of instructions concerned the proper care of the body and mind of the individual. One should stay clean, sober, well rested, and well nourished, and avoid excessive mental and physical strain and any form of over-indulgence. Emotional self-regulation also had a place here, for dwelling on negative feelings was considered harmful. Many of these instructions were international (anti-spitting campaigns, for instance, took place in many countries around the same time), while others were more clearly adopted to national conditions. Hygienic goals trumped any ethnological value that traditional practices might have had. For instance, two features of Ostrobothnian peasant culture, heavily draped bunk beds and the use of hollow cow horns as "feeding bottles" for infants, were condemned outright. The hygienic prescriptions were conducive of cultural uniformity: in practice, middle-class values and habits were recommended to the whole of the population.

The ethos of the anti-tuberculosis education can be encapsulated in the notion of *purity*, in both the moral and the more concrete sense of the term. The early anti-tuberculosis campaign presented sobriety, moderation, and cleanliness as the key to improvement and as the best protection against disease. The report of the 1900 Tuberculosis Committee noted that tuberculosis was more common among the lower classes and in certain working-class occupations. As for the reasons, "One's level of civilization and the way one leads one's life greatly influence [. . .] the prevalence of consumption. Although this depends on several factors, it nevertheless seems that cleanliness and purity play the major role." The report went on to name "deficient cooking skills" as the major reason for malnourishment among the poor (Palmberg et al. 1900, 50). Severi Savonen illustrated the theme in a printed lecture from 1936. The lecture was addressed to mothers, who were instructed to ensure that their children had a clean home and a regular lifestyle, including nutritious meals, sufficient rest and calm sleep, sensible clothing, sun, and fresh air. The lecture ended with a dramatized dialogue: at the end of a similar lecture, Savonen recounted, a mother had stood up and protested:

'It is easy to list those things, but it is hopeless for the poor to carry them out [. . .].' Her peers did not support her. Another mother stood up and spoke: 'It may sound hopeless, but it is not impossible. We can all make some of it reality, if we really want to. And when we know that

these are the weapons with which mothers can defend their homes against tuberculosis, is there anyone who would not want to use them?" (Savonen 1936, 8).¹²

Where there is a will, there is a way, Savonen was saying, and poverty was no excuse to leave expert advice unheeded.

Savonen's speech reminds us that the insistence on purity was also a way to circumvent the social issue, an issue never far away when tuberculosis was discussed. There was no denying that tuberculosis was a socially selective disease. This also made it a potentially political disease, a disease that could be used to criticize prevailing conditions and to demand change. This was a source of conflict between the middle-class anti-tuberculosis activists and the labor movement across Europe.¹³ In Finland, the political dimensions of the tuberculosis issue also surfaced occasionally. One such occasion was in 1917, when the social-democratic journal *Arbetet* (Work) published a four-part article on tuberculosis and the social issue. The author, identified only by the letter "E", explained that tuberculosis was a "proletarian disease" and a concomitant of capitalism. The author used recent statistical studies and surveys to show that the disease had spread to rural areas in the wake of capitalist economy and industrial work; that its prevalence was many times higher in the poor areas of Helsinki than in the rich areas; and that a staggering one-fourth of the workers at the Kymmene paper mills, the largest and most profitable industrial enterprise in the country, suffered from some form of tuberculosis (most commonly from cervical lymphadenitis) (E, 1917, I:1; II:1; III:2). E pointed out that it was naïve to blame "the lacking neatness of individual people" or the working class's "unhealthy habit of living in cramped conditions" for the epidemic. He (or she) further denounced the notion of individual responsibility "as belonging to an obsolete ideology" and stated that "the spread of tuberculosis can be checked only by preventive measures. These should consist in profound improvement of the living conditions of the great masses of population" (E, 1917, I:1; II:1; IV:1.) In other words, the anonymous author used tuberculosis to argue for the need of radical change in social and economic relationships of power.

12 All translations into English are by the author.

13 In Spain, for instance, criticism from the left effectively undermined the credibility of the middle-class anti-tuberculosis associations (Molero-Mesa 2011, 182). In Sweden and England, on the other hand, political criticism of the anti-tuberculosis campaign was rare and rather lenient (Niemi 2007, 160–61).

The ATA Board felt obliged to react to this. It specifically took issue with E's claims concerning the Kymmene paper mills. The statistics that E referred to were based on a mass examination that had been conducted by Dr. Yrjö Kajava (1884–1929) in 1914. The ATA Board summoned Kajava to a board meeting to plan a countermeasure. The board did not fault Kajava's research results but objected to the way they had been interpreted by E. As the board saw it, E had "misconstrued and misinterpreted the research results in a blatantly agitational purpose" and was using them "to criticize the working conditions and to agitate against the factory leadership." Kajava was told to publish a rejoinder, and two board members were assigned to assist him in the task (the minutes of the ATA Board, Apr. 13, 1917, § 2). While it would have been impossible to deny that tuberculosis was also, to an extent, a social issue, the board did not want it to become a political issue, let alone a political weapon.

There is, of course, no way to measure the exact impact of popular tuberculosis education. But there are reasons to believe that it did have an impact. First, the associations invested heavily in popular education, and the volume of the printed material was, as Harjula puts it, "in a league of its own" (2015, 41). The editions were huge by Finnish standards, and the demand for the educational material seems to have been high as well. For instance, the first 25,000 copies of the ATA booklet *Miten keuhkotauti on kodeissa ehkäistävissä* (How to prevent consumption at home) were sold out within a year, and another 15,000 copies were immediately printed (Koskimies 1910, 4). Second, printed material was not the associations' only means of spreading their message. Their ambulatory speakers and nurses personally came into contact with a great many people, and nurses also entered people's homes to show, and not just to tell, how things should and should not be done. Further, it should be remembered that tuberculosis sanatoria were not only therapeutic but also educational institutions (some people even considered the latter function as primary). During the months and sometimes years that patients spent in these institutions, the painstaking sanatorium routine with its many dos and don'ts trained them to minimize the risk of infection and to regulate their lives. The survivors would disseminate these lessons beyond the institution after their discharge. Fourth, the educational project of the anti-tuberculosis associations could rely on a powerful emotional resource: the fear of disease and death. There were few people in Finland who had not come into contact with the disease in some

form. Most of them would have seen people fall ill and die (and not usually "the beautiful death" of nineteenth-century novels), lose their family members and their income. The well-grounded fear for the disease made people receptive to advice.

Again, the anti-tuberculosis campaigners were by no means alone in this "civilizing process." The school, the temperance movement, the youth-society movement, the hygienic movement and, to an extent, the labor movement, all pulled in the same direction. They were all involved in the education of a modern, responsible citizen, who was both responsive to expert advice and capable of self-regulation. There was also concrete collaboration between these organizations. For instance, children treated in CC preventoria and sanatoria were "preached temperance" in large quantities, and elementary-school pupils around the country were alerted to the dangers of tuberculosis by essay competitions on tuberculosis-related topics.

The third way in which the anti-tuberculosis associations contributed to nation-formation was more specific: they introduced new health-care practices and solutions, some of which took firm root and proved important in independent Finland. For instance, the anti-tuberculosis campaign brought health-care specialists to the domestic space. Both ATA and its Swedish counterpart defined the home as the primary target of their dispensaries and, by the same token, their activities in general. The Swedish tuberculosis physician Emil Lindhagen thus wrote in 1910: "it is the home where the danger of infection is the greatest, it is the tuberculous homes that are the most important hotbeds for the spread of the disease. It is therefore first and foremost the home where the battle against tuberculosis has to be fought" (Lindhagen 1910, 27–28). Akseli Koskimies (1869–1943), the Secretary of ATA, wrote in a similar vein in 1910: "The purpose of the dispensaries is to transfer the struggle against tuberculosis into the home, to involve the sick and their families in the struggle" and "to take the home under its protection and observation, to teach and advise the ignorant, to assist those without means" (Koskimies 1910, 6). This was new, for health visiting was not an established practice in Finland. Dispensary nurses first entered the homes of poor urban people, then rural homes, and eventually, during the interwar period, middle-class homes as well.

The mass tuberculosis examinations conducted by dispensary physicians and nurses were the first such mass screening measures extended to the whole population in a given community. Provincial

medical officers had been entitled to carry out what were known as “general syphilis examinations,” but these were never common and were never extended to all social layers within a community. The uptake was high in the ATA mass examinations, which is all the more remarkable considering that ATA dispensary physicians and nurses were not technically part of the public health-care system and were thus acting without the power of office. In the post-war years, the screening practices went into high gear with the introduction of miniature x-ray equipment and mobile screening units. The early mass tuberculosis examinations made the population accustomed to these kinds of comprehensive public health inspections and interventions.

Although an outwardly modest establishment, the dispensary itself was a significant novel institution. Its services were free, and, in principle, similar regardless of social class. Although the early city dispensaries were closely connected to poor relief, they were not as stigmatizing as the latter. Middling classes, too, could and increasingly would turn to the dispensaries when they suspected tuberculosis or wanted to find treatment. The TB dispensary acted as a model for the communal maternity and child-care clinics, which were planned during the Second World War and implemented soon after it, and which have often been regarded as the greatest achievement of Finnish public health in the twentieth century. The resemblance is no coincidence: Severi Savonen was the chief architect of both the dispensary network in the 1920s and the child and maternity clinic network in the 1940s and 1950s. Dispensaries and their successors meant a great deal for national integration: they were popular across social classes and also crossed linguistic and ethnic divisions. The rationale behind these institutions was more democratic and inclusive than was common at the time. The dispensaries, with their mass examination and registration practices, were also a powerful means of collecting comprehensive health data on the national population.

The thing to note about these solutions is that they were, in principle, directed at the population as a whole, with no stress on social or regional differences. In this respect, they can be regarded as leveling mechanisms and as instruments of national integration. In practice, however, the integrative power of the pre-war dispensaries should not be exaggerated. The ATA dispensary network was too loose and too patchy to effectively alleviate the great regional differences in tuberculosis morbidity and mortality and health-care provision. When FATA turned its twenty-six tuberculosis districts

and dispensaries over to the public sector at the end of the 1940s, they covered three-quarters of all rural municipalities and served over 2 million people (Ahtokari 1991, 17). This is of course an impressive achievement for a private, or rather semi-official, organization. However, ATA/FATA could not solve what was and perhaps still is the most distinctive problem of Finnish twentieth-century health care, regional inequality. The deep-seated Finnish tradition of regarding health care as a primarily local affair is accompanied by an exceptionally high tolerance for regional inequality in publicly funded health-care services.

Conclusion

The Finnish national anti-tuberculosis associations had a twofold basis: the international anti-tuberculosis campaign and the domestic tradition of voluntary associations and popular movements. Generally speaking, ATA was more closely modeled on the former, while CC was more clearly indebted to the latter. If the commission was a representative of turn-of-the-century "scientific philanthropy" (on the concept, see Nelson and Förhammar 2009, 251), then the activities of ATA already pointed toward inter-war social engineering. It is hardly surprising that ATA got the upper hand when the two merged in 1930.

The anti-tuberculosis associations' contribution to nation-formation prior to independence was significant. The rhetoric and imagery of the campaign evoked a unified nation and a (more or less) unified people, united against a common enemy. The campaign trained the anti-tuberculosis activists and their audiences to think in terms of the national population and to regard the health of the population as an indicator of the worth and maturity of the nation. It urged the citizens to assume responsibility for their own and their fellow citizens' health. It imposed uniform health and hygienic norms on different groups of people. By presenting them as universally applicable, they effectively recommended middle-class values and hygienic standards to the whole of the people, overriding local traditions and customs. Third, the campaign introduced practices that would become a staple part of the health-care system in independent Finland. The relative importance of these practices—home interventions, mass screening and registering practices, specialist non-institutional care offered by the dispensaries—is increased by the rudimentary state of public health services at the time.

The political situation has not been given much space here. However, it is evident that it influenced the form and content of

the anti-tuberculosis campaign. For one thing, the early anti-tuberculosis activists did not put much hope in legislation and state support. Here we have a clear difference to Norway, which had the Tuberculosis Act as early as 1900, and to Sweden, where the newly founded *Nationalföreningen* immediately secured the financial support of the parliament. In Finland, the state contribution was restricted to a committee, appointed in 1898, and modest and irregular state grants to institutions and organizations. The lack of realistic possibilities for securing state funding and advancing major reforms by legislation highlighted the role of popular education. The absence of a sovereign state and the precarious state of the autonomy emphasized the role of non-governmental organizations, as did the weakness of other integrating institutions. The political system was progressive in some respects (universal suffrage in 1906) but defunct in other (the work of the parliament was obstructed by the imperial administration). Measures to restrict Finnish autonomy were resumed soon after 1907. The central administration, the lynchpin of autonomy, threatened to fall right into foreign hands, especially after the notorious “law of equal rights” (1912) opened public posts to Russian citizens. In this situation, non-governmental institutions became, among other things, repositories of domestic power.

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Book Reviews

Kallonen, Kari. 2017. *Olavi Alakulppi: Guerrilla Lieutenant; Knight of the Mannerheim Cross and World Skiing Champion*. Translated by Mika Roinila. Original title: *Olavi Alakulppi: Sissiluutnatti; Marskin ritari ja maailmanmestari*. Booknook.biz. 224 pages. \$4.99. ASIN B071ZWQRLS.

Kari Kallonen's *Olavi Alakulppi: Guerrilla Lieutenant; Knight of the Mannerheim Cross and World Skiing Champion* provides a new military perspective on small-unit engagements fought near the Arctic Circle during the Second World War. What makes this interesting for English-language military historians is that it provides balance to a topic dominated by German, rather than Finnish, sources. From 1941 to 1944, the German soldiers of the 20th Mountain Army and airmen of *Luftwaffe 5* occupied northern Norway and Finland in a protracted struggle over material resources and shipping lanes with the Soviet Union. Descriptions of these battles can be found in works such as Earl F. Ziemke's 1959 classic, *The German Northern Theater of Operations, 1940–1945*. Modern works on the subject include Adam Claasen's (2001) *Hitler's Northern War: The Luftwaffe's Ill-Fated Campaign, 1940–1945*, which addresses Hitler's attempts to stop Allied supply shipments to the Soviet Union through the Arctic ports of Murmansk and Archangel, along with Chris Mann and Christer Jörgensen's (2002) *Hitler's Arctic War: The German Campaigns in Norway, Finland, and the USSR, 1940–1945*, which explores the land campaigns to capture the same Soviet ports. In each of these works, the authors briefly discuss large-scale Finnish military operations in the Arctic region, but refrain from providing details on the exploits of individual soldiers.

Fortunately, a number of autobiographies and biographies praising the achievements of Finnish veterans are also available to the English-language audience. For readers interested in aviation history, Eino Luukkanen's (1963) autobiography, *Fighter over*

Finland, provides a lively account of the tremendous air battles fought during the 1939 to 1940 Winter War, along with the 1941 to 1944 Continuation War. During these aeronautical jousts, Luukkanen went on to score over fifty victories and emerged as the third-leading ace of the war. J. Michael Cleverley's (2008) *Born a Soldier: The Times and Life of Larry Thorne* chronicles the adventures of Lauri Allan Törni, who began his military career in the Finnish army, fighting against the Soviets during the Winter War, and then joined the German *Waffen SS* during most of the Continuation War. Afterwards, Törni moved to the United States, entered the American Army, and fought with distinction during the Vietnam War, where he ultimately lost his life. Recently, Tapio Saarelainen (2016) published *The White Sniper Simo Häyhä: The Deadliest Sniper in History*, which follows the short but prolific career of the sniper who killed over five hundred Soviet soldiers during the Winter War. In each of these works, the soldiers spent the majority of their military service during the Second World War along the Karelian front, near Leningrad, where most of the fighting took place.

In contrast to these large-scale battles, Kallonen's *Olavi Alakulppi: Guerrilla Lieutenant; Knight of the Mannerheim Cross and World Skiing Champion* describes the fighting waged against Soviet soldiers and partisans near the Arctic Circle. The book opens with the portrayal of bucolic rural village life, left largely untouched by the war ravaging the southern areas of Finland. The author introduces the reader to the tight-knit community of Seitajärvi, where women and children dominated the population because the men were away for military service. Only a few old men and boys remained in the town to act as a defense force. During the summer of 1944, the Soviet Union dispatched three partisan units identified as *Bolsevik*, *Poljarnik*, and *Stalinets* against this largely undefended civilian target. During the initial assault, the partisans killed several guards and civilians, looted some property, and then set fire to the village. The partisans took several hostages into a local forest, interrogated, then raped and murdered the non-combatants, leaving only a severely wounded child for rescuers to find in the wake of the destruction. Lieutenant Olavi Alakulppi, of Special Detachment Sau, a Finnish military unit charged with protecting the local population, set out with his men to track down and destroy the partisans.

In the first chapter, Kallonen backtracks to the early history of Olavi Alakulppi and his formative years. Readers learn that his

family supported Finnish independence from Russia and public education, and encouraged outdoor sports for health and recreation around their home in Rovaniemi. From an early age, Olavi excelled in cross-country skiing and especially enjoyed ski-jumping, much to the chagrin of his parents. In 1935, he entered military service, training as a Lapland border guard and continued to improve his skiing in local competitions. By 1939, Alakulppi's skills had improved to the point that he won a gold medal at the world championships held in Zakopane, Poland. This victory would have allowed him to compete in the 1940 Winter Olympics that were scheduled for Japan, but the 1939 Soviet Union invasion of Finland and the expansion of the Second World War to Europe and Asia would prevent any games from being held.

Chapter two begins with Alakulppi's baptism of fire during the Winter War as he and the men of Separate Battalion (*Erillinen Pataljoona*) 25 fought to prevent Soviet troops from taking Rovaniemi, the capital of Finnish Lapland. The outnumbered and underequipped Finnish soldiers not only stopped the Soviet advance, but they achieved significant victories at Suomussalmi and Raatteen tie (Raate Road). In early January, Alakulppi was promoted from corporal to sergeant major for his contributions to the war effort. As a trained skier, he spent the remaining months of the Winter War conducting patrols and trying to contain further Soviet advances, contributing to a negotiated peace with Russia and the preservation of Finnish independence.

During the brief interlude between the conclusion of the 1939–40 Winter War, and the outbreak of the 1941–44 Continuation War, Alakulppi continued to represent Finland in international skiing competitions while also commanding troops in preparation for the arrival of German troops in Finnish Lapland. Thus, chapter three focuses on Finnish military cooperation with the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, called Operation Barbarossa. The arrival in Lapland of the 20th Mountain Army, under the command of Colonel General Nicolaus von Falkenhorst, brought both regular *Wehrmacht* troops along with elite Nazi *Waffen SS* soldiers to Northern Finland. Troops from the Finnish 6th Division, including the recently promoted company commander, Second Lieutenant Alakulppi, invaded Soviet territory to seize the town of Kandalaksha, thereby isolating the port of Murmansk from the rest of Russia. As military operations continued, Alakulppi and his men excelled in reconnaissance work while also taking part in direct assaults against fortified positions. These acts of bravery

resulted in Alakulppi's winning Finland's highest military honor, the Mannerheim Cross, along with the German Iron Cross.

Chapter four returns the reader to 1944 and the Soviet partisan attack against the villagers in the Seitajärvi region. Alakulppi's Special Detachment Sau had spent the intervening months patrolling the region and protecting the population from Soviet incursions. After the attack, Alakulppi's men, with assistance from the Germans, tracked down a Soviet partisan to a remote area north of Salla. During the subsequent assault, he was severely wounded by machinegun fire and evacuated to the hospital in Salla for treatment. Many of the German troops refused to help the Finns in eliminating the Soviet partisans, who returned safely to their own lines. As a result of the outcome of the battle, General Dietl, the German commander, gave Alakulppi a medal for bravery, and then had several German officers shot for cowardice.

The author uses chapter five to discuss the aftermath of the battle and how the civilian population coped with the horrific losses in the tragedy. Additionally, the Soviets stepped up their incursions and assaults on civilians, with a recovered Alakulppi returning to the field to chase down marauding partisans. After a July 1944 partisan attack on another village, Alakulppi's men tracked down and killed several of the attackers. In the wake of the unprecedented violence, readers learn about Finnish families torn apart and the adoption of surviving children by neighbors, along with forensic evidence that murder victims had been subjected to rape and torture by the Soviets.

The events of July 1944 carry over to chapter six with a massive Soviet assault launched against Finnish troops in Karelia. This successful operation forced the Finnish government to sign a peace agreement with the Soviets, which included a demand that the Finnish army push all German troops out of the country. In September 1944, the recently promoted Captain Alakulppi led his men to the area near Oulu, where military operations began against the German army. As the Germans retreated back to Norway, they burned towns and cities, including Rovaniemi. At the end of the Lapland War, Captain Alakulppi was one of many officers worried about the possibility of Soviet troops annexing Finland. As a precaution, officers began to assemble secret weapons caches around the country to resist a possible Soviet occupation. The Finnish and Soviet governments learned of these developments and began to arrest the officers and seize the illicit weapons. This situation blurred the line between patriots and traitors among

Finnish officers, including Captain Alakulppi, who was arrested for participating in the program. Rather than endure protracted imprisonment, he escaped captivity and fled the country to Sweden, where he joined a growing cadre of fugitive Finnish officers.

In Sweden, the Finnish officers struggled to find employment, while also facing the possibility of expulsion from the country. During the period of 1946 and 1947, diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States began to deteriorate into the onset of the Cold War. As a result, the American government was looking for soldiers experienced in fighting the Russians, just as Alakulppi needed to leave Sweden. This led Alakulppi and several other Finnish officers to obtain visas to enter the United States, with the express purpose of joining the American army. After the men arrived in New York, they received extensive support from Finnish immigrants in the region.

The officers' American military careers begin in chapter eight, with their naturalization and induction into the army. After a rocky start, the Finns began training American soldiers in the art of cross-country skiing. This progressed into designing winter warfare supplies and equipment for the military. On a positive note, Alakulppi's wife and children arrived in the United States. The elated father then embarked on a new career as a coach and athlete in competitive cross-country skiing.

The renewed interest in competitive skiing (chapter nine) led to a promotion to captain, thus returning Alakulppi's rank to that obtained in the Finnish Army during the Second World War. The brief bliss of being reunited with his family was cut short by an international crisis. In 1950, Soviet-backed North Korea invaded American-backed South Korea, touching off the 1950–53 Korean War. Alakulppi was sent to Japan, to begin training soldiers in winter warfare, then to the front. In early 1953, he helped stem a Chinese Communist offensive, which led to the Bronze Star medal for bravery in combat. In 1954, Alakulppi returned to training duties first in the United States and later in Germany. His years in Germany gave Alakulppi an opportunity to return to Finland and reestablish contact with former soldiers and rehash wartime experiences. In 1959, Alakulppi's son Vesa entered West Point Military Academy, following in his father's footsteps as military officer.

Chapter 10 begins with the 1960 Winter Olympics held in Squaw Valley, California. While not a competitor, Alakulppi helped behind the scenes, making sure the Finnish athletes and sports commentators had everything they needed for the competition. The

period also propelled Alakulppi into a Finnish-Soviet debate of war crimes, specifically the Russian partisan attacks against Finnish civilians in Lapland during the Second World War. The increased hostility of the Soviet government reflected the growing tensions of the Cold War.

American participation in the 1960–73 Vietnam War also increased tensions with the Soviet Union and served as a transition for events described in chapter eleven, where the father, Olavi, retired from the military and his son, Lieutenant Vesa Alakulppi, deployed to Vietnam for a combat tour. In 1968, Vesa died in combat against Vietcong guerillas. Retired Lieutenant Colonel Olavi Alakulppi then flew to Vietnam to collect his son's remains and returned them to the United States for burial.

The final part of the book, chapter twelve, explores Alakulppi's retirement years, his devotion to family, and his interactions with Finnish veterans. A new generation of Finns were again interested in the story of the famous athlete and soldier. The brief epilogue details the death and burial of a man who served two countries with distinction and honor. The Alakulppi family, friends, and surviving veterans laid the hero to rest in Arlington National Cemetery.

In all, *Guerrilla Lieutenant* provides readers with an interesting new perspective on Arctic warfare during the Second World War. Well written and organized, the book will appeal to a variety of readers and age levels. The only issues with the book can be found in the introduction, where a flurry of names and details about Finnish families and history can be confusing to people unfamiliar with the topic. Some enhancements to the footnotes would solve the problem and increase the overall flow of the book. In short, this is a good book that deserves a read by anyone interested in the region or military history.

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Kirstinä, Leena, editor. 2012. *Nodes of Contemporary Finnish Literature*. Studia Fennica Litteraria 6. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 199 pages. €45.00. ISBN 9789522223593.

Nodes of Contemporary Finnish Literature is the sixth volume in the series Studia Fennica Litteraria published by the Finnish Literature Society, as noted in the foreword to the edition. This volume's dual purpose is to present to its readers trends in recent Finnish literature and to offer an idea of the nature of the future of Finnish literary history. The series presents topics and trends in the broad spectrum of Finnish literature from its inception to the present, with this volume taking as its focus contemporary literary works and critical approaches.

This volume, then, takes for its topic the explication of some dominant features of contemporary Finnish literature, providing a finite glimpse into the subject, as is formulated in “initial observations,” from which the editor hopes we can be “satisfied” with a valid hypothesis (10). The context of this hypothesizing is set, as the editor, Leena Kirstinä, notes, within “Poststructuralism [which] found the way back to intertextuality [following New Criticism and Structuralism] via intertextuality, with the help of the chains of ideas, figures, and tropes, used in literatures, that can be followed between times and places” (9). Thus, Kirstinä locates her project, which examines the literature of Finland from the 1980s onward when, in Finland, “there were ruptures and mixes of modernism and postmodernism” (10).

The introduction, divided into sections, delineates the broad developments in Finnish literature from the 1980s to the present, marking 1985 as an important moment in the “Crisis of Mimesis” with movement away from realism toward self-reflective metafiction and a problematized relationship between language and reality.

By 1998, Kirstinä asserts, identity discussion came to the forefront with immigrants, complicating Finnish cultural homogeneity (14). That year, too, the editor asserts, found the rise in vocalization

of a new kind of feminism, which received a response as Kirstinä characterizes as “men wrote back in 1999” (16). At the turn of the millennium, ideas of community were challenged by the emergence of the heterogeneous individual constituent with topics such as Finnish identity, racism, Christianity, war, and alienation.

Within these broad strokes that sketch recent Finnish literary history, or what Kirstinä identifies as nodes, the critical work of this volume is developed. Lyytikäinen examines the production of the author “and the creation of its ethical, existentially toned world-view” (21). Foreignness, or the “outsider,” and “what is happening to the modern subject in postmodern conditions” are examined by Hallila (22). Koivisto’s article centers on the “phenomenon of the large I-narration” (22), and Malmio explores work that “transgresses the boundaries between children’s and adults’ literature” (22). Referentiality, mimesis, and historical truth form the subject of analysis in the Hatavara article. Oja examines poetic voice in the digital age, while Heikkilä-Halttunen explores parallels between children’s and adults’ literature during the period. Ojajärvi delves into “the critical construction of social reality” (22) and the naturalization “of the liberal marketplace as an essential part of family life” in his examination of two novels (23). In the final article, Lehtimäki elucidates the role of the novel in the era of “e-mail and other electronic devices” (23).

The ideas of author, referentiality, intertextuality, identity, and social categories, at the intersection of the modern and the postmodern, form the nodes of discussion. This volume opens up the discussion of contemporary Finnish literature for the English-speaking audience.

Taken together, the series functions as an indispensable introduction to Finnish literature and works as a vehicle to broaden discussion of Finnish literary history to the extra-Finnish academic community. Because of this important function I want to mention the full series to date, with this volume falling somewhere in the middle.

Other works in the series are as follows:

Changing Scenes: Encounters between European and Finnish Fin de Siècle, edited by Pirjo Lyytikäinen, 2003.

Women’s Voices: Female Authors and Feminist Criticism in the Finnish Literary Tradition, edited by Päivi Lappalainen and Lea Rojola, 2007.

Metaliterary Layers in Finnish Literature, edited by Samuli Hägg, Erkki Sevänen, and Risto Turunen, 2008.

The Emergence of Finnish Book and Reading Culture in the 1700s, edited by Cecilia af Forselles and Tuija Laine, 2011.
Aino Kallas: Negotiations with Modernity, edited by Leena Kurvet-Käosaar and Lea Rojola, 2011.

Subsequent volumes are thus far:

White Field, Black Seeds: Nordic Literacy Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century, edited by Anna Kuismin and M. J. Driscoll, 2013.

Helsinki in Early Twentieth-Century Literature: Urban Experiences in Finnish Prose Fiction, 1890–1940, edited by Lieven Ameel, 2014.

Novel Districts: Critical Readings of Monika Fagerholm, edited by Kristina Malmio and Mia Österlund, 2016.

Mysterious Minds: The Making of Private and Collective Consciousness in Marja-Liisa Vartio's Novels, by Elise Nykänen, 2017.

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Remlinger, Kathryn A. 2017. *Yooper Talk: Dialect as Identity in Michigan's Upper Peninsula*. Languages and Folklore of the Upper Midwest. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. xxi, 183 pages, illustrations. \$24.95. ISBN 9780299312503.

One of the most inspiring topics in immigration history research in the twenty-first century is how immigrant cultures have shaped new countries and their cultures. So, besides just by asking how the immigrants were changed by mainstream culture or supposedly by other ethnic groups in their new homelands, modern scholars have also become more interested in analyzing the social and cultural changes the immigrants and their subsequent generations have catalyzed in their new environments. Kathryn Remlinger's new study on the "Yooper dialect" of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (from now on abbreviated just as the "UP") is a fine example of the phenomenon, and it also has a good eye for the historical, economic, and political processes that shaped the culture of the area as we know it.

The main focus in Remlinger's work is on the regional dialect, identity, and history, but contextualizing themes and concepts such as "commercialism," "authenticity," and "guilt" are also discussed through the lens of sociocultural linguistics. In the case of the UP,

this is very rewarding because the story of the peninsula is unique. What is understood as “yooper culture” today (the word *yooper* derives from “UP’er,” a citizen of the Upper Peninsula) is actually a history of a remote American regional culture not precisely fitting the historic ideals of US assimilation projects such as the Melting Pot and 100-percent Americanism (even though there were Finnish pro-assimilation voices too, see Niemi 1921). Back in the heyday of the copper- and iron-mining boom in the first two decades of the twentieth century, an estimated 40 percent of the UP population were born outside the United States. The radically multiethnic mix in the mines, homesteads, and community halls in the UP fascinated leading American folklorists as early as the late 1930s when Alan Lomax started collecting folksongs in the area. Lomax was followed a decade later by perhaps the most influential folklorist of his generation, Richard Dorson (2008). Overwhelmed by the cultural and ethnic diversity of the area, Lomax proclaimed the UP “perhaps the most interesting country I have ever travelled in” (Cohen 2010, 100) just as Dorson pronounced “the fabulous Upper Peninsula” to be “one of the richest storytelling regions in USA” (Leary 2008, xii). The storytelling tradition and the musical life of the UP are still very much an academic interest among scholars. Recently, Leary (who also co-wrote, with Joe Salmons, the foreword for Remlinger’s book) published a Grammy-nominated book combined with five CD’s and a DVD entitled *Folksongs of Another America: Field Recordings from the Upper Midwest, 1937–1946* (2015).

How does this all connect with Finnish studies or Finnishness then? More than just a little, it appears. The UP was one of the most common destinations for Finnish immigrants during the great immigration era of 1880 to 1920. During this period, an estimated 350,000 Finns left Finland for the United States in high hopes of a better future in the new land. In the urban environments of the U. S. East and West Coasts, Finns usually worked as maids or construction workers, and, in the rural parts of the country (such as the UP), they employed themselves in the mining industry, commercial fishing, or forestry before establishing their own farms, often in remote homestead lands with Finnish settlement names such as Toivola, Nisula, or Tapiola.

Finnishness is very much present in the UP even today, namely in terms of highly influential ethnic organizations, such as the Finnish American Heritage Center, Finlandia University, bilingual

street signs (English/Finnish) in downtown Hancock, annual ethnic festivities such as the Heikinpäivä and Juhannus celebration in Toivola, and preservation of the old Finnish homestead of Hanka in Askel. In Houghton County alone, a fascinating 32.5 percent of the population (now running in third and fourth generations) still reported Finnish ancestry in the US Census data of 2010. However, as Remlinger points out (against the popular myth of yooper culture being exclusively Finnish), it is not all about Finns or Finnishness when it comes to dialect variations in the UP. This is not the case even in the Copper Country and Marquette areas, where Remlinger conducted her sixteen years of fieldwork since the early 2000s. Because of the settlement history of the region since the mid-1840s, the regional dialect has also been affected by German, French Canadian, Slovenian, Croatian, Swedish, Italian, and indigenous influences in terms of grammar, pronunciation, sounds, and vocabulary. Typical dialect features such as *eh*, *yah*, *da*, and *holy wah* do have a multiethnic history. Remlinger also points out that there are several different variations of the dialect in the UP alone, largely depending on the location or the speaker or the speech situation. Also some linguistic features of “yooper talk” can be found elsewhere in the United States.

As the title suggests, perhaps the most crucial part of Remlinger’s work is how she carefully connects regional dialect with regional identity. In *Yooper Talk*, dialect is not merely a “brogue” spoken in some random geographical area, but it is also a marker for identity-making and a source of regional pride. According to Remlinger, we have witnessed at least three different historical interpretations of the talk so far. The form of English that was at the first stage stigmatized as “immigrant,” “rural,” or “ethnic” was in the second phase transformed into a distinctive “regional dialect” not to be confused with “broken English” or a “class” dialect anymore. Regional identity also started to parallel ethnicity at this stage, and the first public expressions of regional identity started to take place. In the third and final stage, the dialect became a widely recognized source of regional identity, and it even became commercially utilized in the regional tourism industry, heritage institutions, media, and other venues.

I find Remlinger’s theoretical model rather fascinating when comparing it with Finnish-American history in the region. Changes and cultural expressions in the UP Finns’ ethnic identity seem to follow somewhat similar patterns at the generational level. Immigrant Finns of the great immigration era often struggled with English

and were stigmatized with derogatory words such as “Finlanders” because of their supposed “clannishness” and lack of language skills (look no further than John Toivonen’s heartfelt struggle in Michael Loukinen’s [1983] *Tradition Bearers*). The first American-born generation of the UP Finns, on the other hand, learned English in school and in some cases became bilingual, which allowed them to play with the languages and which connected them closely with local dialect. In this light, Wilbert “Wimpy” Salmi’s self-made street signs of “Kowsit Lats Rd.” and “Ageet Peech”¹ (or Jingo Viitala Vachon’s or Heino “Hap” Puotinen’s wonderful dialect stories) of the 1960s and 1970s can perhaps be portrayed as first-level signs of utilizing regional identity and “yooper talk” in the Finnish-American context. As time progressed, utilizing dialect and regional identity became more conscious and more institutionalized. Regional institutions such as Da Yoopers’ Tourist Trap in Ishpeming or the commercialized Yooper figures Eino and Toivo from the 1980s onward are the clearest examples of the case.

Yooper Talk is a finely crafted study which connects identity and dialect to social, economic, and cultural history in a very delicate manner. I am convinced that the work will be warmly welcomed by all scholars interested in the US Upper Midwest, and not just scholars of history, Finnishness, or linguistics alone. Remlinger’s work can also be labeled as a pivotal effort in deepening our understanding of American culture, ethnicity, and regionality in general, from the ethnic perspective. For the UP Finns, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan has equalled “home” for the last one hundred years or so. It is a home that is different now from what it was in the early 1900s, 1940s, or 1960s because interpretations and expressions of Finnishness have also changed during the close contact with regional culture. It is about time for the rest of us to “say yah to da UP,” too!

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1 These spellings attempt to portray the Finnish phonological renderings of *Cowshit Flats* and *Agate Beach*.

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Ritva Kylli received her PhD in Finnish and Scandinavian history from the University of Oulu in 2005. Since 2015, she has been Adjunct Professor at the University of Oulu in Finnish and North European history. Prior to that, she worked as a Lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Oulu. Kylli specializes in the study of arctic and northern food history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She has conducted research on cultural

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Tiina Seppä is a post-doctoral researcher in the Karelian Institute at the University of Eastern Finland. Her dissertation (2015) focuses on the project of collecting and producing folk poetry in Finland. In her ongoing research, which is part of the project "Russia as a Field and an Archive: Constructing Finnishness among Ethnographers of the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Finland" (funded by the Academy of Finland and led by docent Jyrki Pöysä), she examines the processes and the material and immaterial conditions of National Romanticism and nation-making through the folklore collecting project. Seppä has also worked as the editor-in-chief of *Elore*, an open-access journal of folklore studies (2015–16). At the moment, Seppä is the president of the Finnish Folklore Society. In addition to several scholarly articles, Seppä has also written four artistic manuscripts based on the research for the Finnish

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Eila Stepanova is a Finnish folklorist specializing in Karelian and more broadly in North Finnic lament poetry. She received her doctoral degree at the University of Helsinki in 2014. Stepanova is recognized as the foremost active expert on Karelian laments and as an expert in Karelian culture more generally, with a variety of fieldwork experience. Currently, Stepanova is working on a three-year project "The Creation of Continuing Bonds by Karelian Immigrants and Their Descendants in Finland" at the Helsinki Collegium of Advanced Studies. She is also a leader of the project "Ownership, Language, and Cultural Heritage: Ideologies of Folk Poetry in the Areas of Finland, Republic of Karelia, and Estonia," funded by the Kone Foundation.

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The Finnish Nationality Room

The Cathedral of Learning

University of Pittsburgh



When it is completed, the Finnish Nationality Room will be a full-scale replica of an early Finnish farmstead, including a tupu and all that goes in it. This room will then join the over 30 other Nationality Rooms in the Cathedral of Learning at the University of Pittsburgh. But to complete the project, we need your help!

Learn how by visiting us at www.pittsburghfinns.net or by visiting our Facebook page ([pittsburghfinns](https://www.facebook.com/pittsburghfinns)). You will not want to miss this opportunity. Frank Eld, FF Lecturer of the Year, has completed a scale-model of the project, part of which is pictured here. The logs for the walls are ready to be taken from a 100-year-old house.

To donate, visit www.giveto.pitt.edu/finnishroom, or for more information, contact the Nationality Rooms office (412-624-6150, embruhns@pitt.edu) or email seijac@aol.com. To learn more about the Nationality Rooms in the Cathedral of Learning, visit www.nationalityrooms.pitt.edu. For log construction and project work, contact Frank Eld at imfinn@icloud.com.



